

## aims & methods for Glasgow Anarchists

### Our ideal

Anarchists seek to abolish National and local States, wage labour and production of commodities for profit. We oppose oppression on the grounds of class, race, gender, sexual preference, age & do not espouse humanity at the expense of animals. Anarchy is a classless society based on co-operation, a joy of living & creativity.

### How we organise

As anarchists we organise on the freest basis possible. We are opposed to Party organisation based on leaders and hierarchy and seek to undermine any 'Revolutionary' group based on such division. We seek to encourage by word and deed a combative response to exploitation, oppression & injustice. Genuine self-organisation will be community based but not parochial, unite workers against the wage system not on narrow occupational lines and encourage a fighting spirit in all of life including culture & other spheres of resistance.

### Internationalism

We are fighting a struggle for liberation throughout the world. We aim to link up and exchange information and practice mutual aid, with like minded people and organisations using libertarian socialist aims and methods. We encourage cultural diversity and support minority groups threatened by capitalist domination. We oppose religious institutions, States and organisations which foster division and do not respect cultural diversity.

### Start Locally

We resist exploitation and oppression where we live, work and in our everyday struggle to exist. We seek to promote a network of genuine self-organisation and promote knowledge of anarchist ideas and of our subversive past. We actively oppose fascism which seeks to divert anger into racial scapegoats. We will endeavour to educate on the basis of equality, and respect for diversity. We do not encourage making demands on the State since it gives our oppressors a mandate to govern. We seek to win victories and force the State to back down but are not under an illusion that the State can be fundamentally reformed even under Left-wing causes. We seek to expose the operation of Multinational companies, of the power relationship which the Political Parties (including Labour & the SNP) respect and the workings of the State including the Police, Law & armed forces.

*We carry a new world in our hearts* and aim to successfully encourage wider appreciation of anarchist ideas reaching out from Glasgow to elsewhere in Scotland and throughout the world.



## 1996 Anarchist strategy in Glasgow - a contribution Keith M 7-2-96.

A/ We have to recognise that not all activity will be channelled through GAG - especially Squatting, roads protests and alternative music projects.

B/ We have to promote activities that relate to our Aims & Principles and use our imagination to promote anarchism relevant to working class people.

C/ Our initial strategy should be to:-

1. Identify campaigns & projects we will INITIATE;
2. Work out how we will PARTICIPATE in wider campaigns;
3. Be in a position to RESPOND to emergencies and one-off issues;
4. Carry out an EDUCATION approach including publications, discussion meetings, literature stalls & Public meetings.

D/ In the immediate short-term (Feb-April ) we need to:-

1. successfully organise the Lorenzo meeting & work out who to appeal to;
2. further discuss how (incl. having Campaign Coordinators) & when we launch the Jobseeker's Campaign;
3. Re-integrate the day-work of solidarity Centre (if applicable ) with the GAG and ensure accountability ;
4. Identify how we can capitalise in areas with local strength (eg. Govanhill) or with common life experiences (students, unemployed, work situations);
5. ensure we have knowledge of what is going on in the Water campaign and work out what we can do in this campaign;
6. As in C/3, have a better phone-tree or local contact network so that we can mobilise GAG members providing some prior notification is possible eg. Warrant Sales.
7. we need to discuss the feasibility of GAG initiatives such as the "Summer School" - that is when the next event will happen & avoid 'drifting' on such issues;
8. We need to discuss whether Wednesday May 1st will be a Festival for Protest.
9. We need to sort out the links between anarchists in Scotland & elsewhere;
10. Are we to have members ? If so when & relations with other clydeside anarchists?

E/ Once we have sorted D/ then we can go on to longer term aims, a couple are:-

- 1) A strategy for anti-electioneering in 1996/7;
- 2) relationship with Socialist alliance/ Defiance Alliance & other 'umbrella' (SML etc) groups;
- 3) Find way to avoid any single-issue campaign being separated from Revolutionary outlook;
- 4) Work out the relevance of the 'Scottish' question to a post-election politics;
- 5) Devise ways to get anarchism known amongst sectors of population less involved in politics.

### Dealing with Dishonesty - the G.A.G. enquiry

1. The theft took place after I returned the bank box on Tuesday 19th December. The box was left mistakenly in the darkroom by Stiff but why was an IOU found & some money removed from this 'stashed away' box ?

2. Office key-holders/ volunteers open up after New year and discover 'break-in'

**Q Exactly who discovered theft & when**

3. GAG Meetings: News of the theft only reached the Group on the 5th meeting after the New Year. On the 8th there was the discussion on Tribal peoples presented by Daniel; On the 15th & 29 th business Meetings, and on the 22nd Mike presented the Jobseeker's Allowance. On the 24th there was the alternative Burns Night. On the 2nd Tuesday (16th ?) there should have been a Solidarity Centre Users Meeting.

**Q Why did it take a note from Jeanne about a reference in GAG minutes for the theft to be disclosed ?**

**Q Has the Solidarity Centre users group discussed and investigated the theft & what are their conclusions.**

4. Who exactly has keys, or borrowed keys, or was present unmonitored in the office room from 19th December until the theft was noticed ?

5. Why has the Solidarity Centre failed to report these events & others to the GAG?



**GAG News Digest** June '94 Vol 2 No.5  
POB 1008 Glasgow G42 8AA

Next Business Meeting: Thursday  
2nd June, 7.30pm. City Halls. Agenda  
incl. Review publication; what to during  
summer; premises saga; finance; meetings -  
Scotland & more local. This may be the last  
business meeting for awhile, so.....

Next Discussion Meeting: Thursday  
23rd June 7.30pm. City Halls.  
**Discussion led by Womens  
Anarchist group on Sex and the  
Structure of the Family.**

The Group Secretary has sent a letter to Edinburgh  
Unemployed Workers Centre in support of their fight  
against the Labour Party in Edinburgh. Unfortunately  
we couldn't get people through for their rally on Wed  
25th but we are pledged to help organise a Scottish  
Anarchist Day conference in the besieged EUWC in  
Broughton St. to demonstrate our support for their  
occupation. Defend our social centres! *Int 427-6399*

Monday 30th May (holiday): Proposal for a  
picnic/ gathering. Meet at back of Peoples  
Palace, Glasgow Green at 1.30pm  
to make it happen.

\*\*\*\*\*

*Social  
SAT. EVE.  
REL. ADH.*

GLASGOW  
**CLASS WAR**

P.O. BOX 1008, GLASGOW G42 8AA

*4/5th June  
in  
Glasgow*

## CLASS WAR FEDERATION NATIONAL CONFERENCE

*MUST REINTER  
AS 'OBSERVER'.*

— Agenda —

*ENQUIRIES  
422-1467.*

**Saturday:**

The State of World Capitalism  
Strategies for CWF in the coming year

**Sunday:**

The anti-fascist struggle and CWF's role regarding it  
The Criminal Justice Bill

Propaganda Meetings - for getting things moving.  
Clydeside Press(rear) Mondays in June. *8pm.*  
Thanks to JT Caldwell for his speech and Dougie, Jan-  
ette, Jim F & Kenny G for ReAdings at the book launch  
on 9th May. & Robt for 24th May talk on Wages System.



for discussion at Scottish Federation of Anarchists conference

## DEBT, THE LAW, PARASITES AND THE WORKING CLASS

The working class, the exploited, every woman and man in our society regarded as WORKING CLASS have two major components that effect their lives, that effect every decision in life, EXPLOITATION and DEBT.

Exploitation is a word that is uncommon to our class, for the "simple" reason, they are far too concerned about their existence on a week to week basis, and for a majority a day to day basis.

The overwhelming factor in their lives and a word more common than fuck is DEBT. In our society today all our basic needs have a price, to the working class it's a price we cannot pay solely by the wages or benefits that we receive (the rich don't want us to be able to pay), that is obvious, we are forced by our basic needs to borrow (TO BUY THE PARASITES' MONEY)

With mass media advertising and the unrelenting pressure to "buy the best", with our children used as a marketing ploy to constantly inform us of the latest consumer (that's us by the way) delight, our society in the main has become disposable, every aspect of our lives, every requirement from the day to day essentials, to the coffin we are buried in, are disposable. Look at your house, your furnishings, utensils, means of transport, clothes, entertainment, education, health care. Everything we require to exist has a sell by date/ use by date.

Our class is condemned to an endless spiral of debt. This is the contemporary form of slavery. The two main points of debt are to manacle the borrower to the lender overtly or covertly by using laws and the legal system, the courts, the police, sheriff officers, by using fear, the fear inherent of exploited by the exploiters. The second point is to feed the capitalist system.

The laws of capitalism will never favour the borrower. The judicial system is there to protect the rich parasites, whole service industries have been set up to manage debt, the outcome is that our class will always have to pay, we will be exploited by parasites who are well aware that for the majority of working class people DEBT is for life, and to them an endless source of income on a massive scale.

If we are serious in our intent to act with our class, to resist the exploitation that is so obvious, and given that our class carries the brunt of debt without the ability to pay, and therefore consign themselves to a life of misery and poverty, we should be advocating and organising a strategy of non-payment to this form of slavery. Examples of successful class action must be taken into account, such as the anti poll tax campaigns. Working class action may not seem widespread and spontaneous, but take for example the rent strikes of the 20's and 30's for better housing and the Unemployed workers movements, the HUNGER marches for jobs.

Everyone has gained some ground in the class struggle, we must be realistic in our approach to class politics, we must give the state and the capitalist parasites a face, and DEBT SLAVERY is that face, we have a target for class anger and frustration, and our language and propaganda must address the problems working class people suffer on a daily basis. We have a TARGET, we have an ENEMY and it's DEBT, we have the names of Finance Companies, Provident, Watsons, Cable Cash, and the Banks, the main parasites, these are the names that our class recognises.

To take the revolutionary step, to achieve a revolutionary objective, a campaign of NON PAYMENT, a mass campaign is the initial step. Let us as revolutionaries be revolutionary and assist in breaking the millstone of debt that subdues our class, and as all comrades are aware, propaganda to this effect will fall on fertile ears.

In a community situation it would be far easier to organise an ANTI DEBT CAMPAIGN than any other form of campaign by the mere fact that each and every one of our class is affected by debt crises, Christmas has come and gone and the parasites got fat. They are well aware of the vast profits that will have gone into the parasites' pockets. From a revolutionary aspect let us introduce to the 'FESTIVE SEASON' a real gift of cheer and goodwill to our class, LET US TAKE FROM THE GREEDY AND GIVE THEM NOTHING IN RETURN.

A revolutionary new year to all.

Andy, Dundee.

After the eviction...

## THE CENTRE FIGHTS BACK!

On 1 December sheriff officers and 70 police smashed their way into The Centre at 103 Broughton Street, Edinburgh and evicted the volunteers who have been running the self-managed community centre in the building. Now Lothian Regional Council have boarded up the premises with coffin-like steel panels and are paying a security firm to keep it empty. *But despite this Council vandalism The Centre is still alive and thriving.*

- We have moved into new temporary premises in The Basement, St. Stephens Centre, St. Stephen Street (near foot of Howe St.), Stockbridge, Edinburgh.
- Many of our previous activities are already underway in the new Centre. The Peoples Arts Project, advice and solidarity on benefits and poll/council tax, resistance to the harassment of claimants, meeting space for groups, rehearsal and practice space for musicians, dancers and theatre groups, and a drop in facility are just some of the ways in which The Centre lives on.
- We are determined that 103 Broughton Street will re-open as a self-managed community centre.
- We appeal to all charities and voluntary organisations to show solidarity by refusing any attempts by the Council to offer them our community centre. We are pledged to take peaceful direct action to stop any group which collaborates with the Council in stealing the centre from the community.
- We are distributing free food and information at lunch-time stalls outside 103 Broughton Street.
- Get in touch! Ring 557 0427 or come to our open weekly meeting - 6pm every Tuesday in the basement of the St. Stephen Centre. The eviction hasn't crushed the Centre as the politicians hoped - instead there are more people involved than ever.

### SLEDGEHAMMERS AT DAWN

The massive police operation to shut down the Centre was courageously resisted. The early morning attack came without warning. But within minutes Centre supporters were on the scene, and numbers swelled to around 80 as the news spread.

For 6 hours Centre supporters successfully maintained a peaceful blockade of the Centre entrance, twice thwarting police attempts to force a way through for sheriffs and council employees. The police brought in re-inforcements, and 70 officers violently forced the crowd away from the entrance, arresting 21 people.

The charges levelled against most people have now been dropped. But 2 women still face charges. They need our solidarity. We appeal to anyone who feels they could have information that could help those charged to get in touch with us. Any photos taken of the events would also be useful. Anyone badly treated by the police that day should make a complaint to the Chief Constable.

On 10 December 200 - 250 Centre supporters rallied outside the evicted centre and declared that the Centre will re-open. This successful demo was also held in defiance of the Criminal Justice Act.

**"EXTERMINATE!" ORDERS BRIAN 'DALEK' CAVANAGH**  
The Centre is run by the people who use it. There are no paid bureaucrats to make sure activities conform to the Council's party line.

The Centre users have a shared commitment to opposing social injustice and to people controlling their own lives and destinies. This is embodied in our involvement in the claimants' movement, and in the resistance to VAT on fuel, the collection of poll tax/council tax, and the Criminal Justice Act.

This is why the Labour-controlled Lothian Regional Council is trying to destroy the Centre. Like all political parties they are only interested in maintaining and increasing their own power. But they will not succeed. The Centre will be thriving when Lothian Regional Council lies forgotten, mouldering in the dustbin of history!

**THE NEW CENTRE** is in the basement of the St. Stephen Centre, St. Stephen Street (near the junction with Howe St.), Stockbridge. It's the big building with a clock tower, and the entrance is off the lane that runs to the left of the building. Ring the basement bell (but not any of the other bells!). We would like to thank our hosts at the St. Stephens Centre for all their help in providing our new temporary home. **THE CENTRE MAILING ADDRESS** for all correspondence is The Centre, c/o The Peace and Justice Centre, St Johns, Princes St., Edinburgh (mail only). **THE CENTRE TELEPHONE CONTACT NUMBER** is 031 557 0427.

### HAPPENING AT THE NEW CENTRE AT ST. STEPHENS...

Come to our open weekly meetings, 6pm every Tuesday.

Contact us if your group needs meeting/rehearsal/practice space. Ring if you need advice on benefits or on how to successfully refuse to pay VAT on fuel and poll/council tax. Get in touch if you'd like to get involved in resistance to social security cuts and the harassment of claimants.

If you've an idea for a new project at the new Centre - we'd like to hear from you.

**DEMONSTRATE!**  
\*RE-OPEN BROUGHTON ST.  
10AM WED. 1 FEB. COUNCIL  
CHAMBERS, PARLIAMENT SQ.  
\*SOLIDARITY WITH EVICTION  
DEFENDANTS  
9.30AM TUES 14 FEB. SHERIFF  
COURT, CHAMBERS ST., EDIN..





## **Glasgow anarchist mailing during the Summer recess - 14-7-94.**

Wednesday 20th July. Assemble from 7.45pm for 8pm start.

### **Group 'business' meeting in Hepburns back lounge.**

- Agenda:-
- 1/ The 2nd Scottish federation meeting & support for The Centre in Edinburgh.
  - 2/ Can the group act as a local federation, local activity in Glasgow.
  - 3/ Report on the Anarchist Review no.1 to be printed in August.
  - 4/ Financing, staffing and obtaining an office space for 'the group'.
  - 5/ Where now for discussion meetings after the recent debacle.
  - 6/ Campaigning issues & how to make an impact Crim Justice, Cameras etc..

If we get through the 'business' we can relax and socialise afterwards.

Other events. The STARR group against the Ayr Road have organised a 'family' day of activity on Saturday followed in the evening by live music (yellow posters around city give details). A similar 'rave' is scheduled for Milngavie the same day according to one of our 'rave' correspondents.

Another meeting organised by Govanhill activists for the **Glasgow Network Against the Criminal Justice Bill** is also on Sat 6th at the Larkfield Centre off Butterbiggens Rd. between 7-9pm, followed by a Social. On **Tuesday 19th July** in the Clutha Vaults at 8.30pm there is a Fundraiser for the 'Glasgow Network...' with Hot Tamales, Karen Thomson, Jim Kelman & poets aplenty.

Your attendance is requested for Wed 20th and for the Edinburgh trip on the 6th August. 8 people from the group made it through to Edinburgh on Sat 25th & are prepared to mobilise to defend it from Court orders etc at short notice. A 'contact tree' of tel numbers was put together involving us in Glasgow.



## Aims and Principles

Our organisation in theory and practice promotes the destruction of all means of exploitation and oppression. The capitalist mode of production is based on the exploitation of the working class.

The state machine protects this mode of production. The working class can therefore not utilise the state machine as a means of emancipation.

XXXXXXX

We therefore advocate organisation of the workers as a class at the point of production to replace trade and general workers unions which are obsolete industrially and insulated from democratic control due to their centralised nature.

We also advocate community organisation to replace the centralised town councils.

Here we would have an industrial organ dovetailing with the commune for the purpose of defence, offence and administration.

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The basis of our organisation is opposed to all centralised institutions and tendencies. We are therefore opposed to all political parties.

We advocate organisation termed federalism, decentralisation as opposed to centralism. Federalism means organisation from the bottom upwards. It means organisation with an autonomous base: Each factory, workshop, yard, mine, depot, etc elects its own committees which are subject to instant recall. Each place of work deals with its own affairs.

Committees are federated to other local committees when coorination is essential as in a strike situation. Local feds link with regional feds and in turn regional feds are linked with national feds, forming an international confederation of labour.

The same principle pertains in the commune regarding social affairs.

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Our methods of struggle are direct action in the individual and social plane. A few examples being civil disobedience, lightning strikes, work to rule, stay in strike, sabotage, culminating in the social general strike which would be the prelude to the social revolution, the revolution of reconstruction.

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Reconstruction means the abolition of wage slavery. Production for profit replaced by production for use. Division of labour replaced by integration of labour.

Services rendered to the community individually and collectively cannot be precisely measured. We therefore negate political economy. Economics should be a physiology of society; the study of the ever growing, developing, diversified needs of the individual and society. Needs should govern production.

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War is the health of the state and capitalism. We are therefore anti-militarists and reject frontiers. The world should be our country.

The following is a translation from the "Enraged Seagull" a French anti-capitalist journal. It is a statement of their principles.

If you wish to contact them, write to:

Caribou/La Mouette  
B.P.21  
62222 St. Martin Boulogne  
France

They say that they are willing to offer one page in their mag to individuals, groups and associations who want to present their point of view on the subject of their choice. Read the principles and if you can write in French, why not get to your pens!

### Who Are We?

We define ourselves as libertarians because:

We reject all economic systems, all political institutions state or private which are founded on the exploitation of man by man, on authority and hierarchy.

We struggle at the same time against all forms of State Capitalism which conceal themselves or are concealed under the names, Marxism-Leninism, Bolshevism, Stalinism etc. and against liberal capitalism with its attendant waste and (effrene'e, don't know that word MB) consumption. They strike us as being two sides of the same coin.

We see all over a world of social inequality, the rule of profit which is leading more and more to a society which is out of balance, polluted, inhuman and directly responsible for racism, passive idiocy, political and financial corruption.

We are for the self-organization of the workers, the inhabitants, the consumers in forms of their own choosing which are not just reproductions of the mafias of the Right, of the Left or the bureaucratic unions, the defects of which we denounce in the strongest terms.

We are for a Direct Democracy which corresponds to the real needs of individuals regardless of sex, race or nationality and certainly not the profits of merchants, public figures, bureaucrats or the famous. We're not appealing to anyone to blindly "follow" us without question. We desire to work with anyone and everyone who wish to radically change society by seizing their destiny in their own hands.

Finally, the Seagull consistently refuses all contributions having racist or discriminatory character, meddling in the private lives of people (except in the context of their political or social functions) also all propaganda with electoral goals and all forms of commercial advertisement.



Glasgow Anarchist Group Official Preamble :-

FOR A SOCIALISM THAT LIBERATES!

We fight for anarchism, a social system based on freedom, mutual aid and social justice. We are against all forms of state, economic exploitation and social oppression. Social wealth and the means to create it must be owned and controlled by society otherwise freedom and equality will never be realised.

Real change can only come through direct action. We need to organise and act together. Solidarity is strength! By resistance in our communities and workplaces we can change the world.

A new world can only be created by working class people, by our own actions and organisations. It can never be done by a political party acting for us. It must be decentralised and managed from below, directly by and for everyone without bosses, politicians, leaders and other parasites.

The movement to create such a free society must reflect its principles of liberty, equality and federalism. We must build the ideas and structures of the new world today, in our struggles, not only in Scotland but across the globe.

Glasgow Anarchist Group is dedicated to this task. By our words and actions we try to spread the anarchist message and encourage the spirit of revolt.

Liberty, Equality, Solidarity!

Our address is :

Glasgow Anarchist Group  
PO Box 1008  
Glasgow  
G42

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Draft Scottish Federation of Anarchists Statement :-

(a.k.a. "Aims and Principles" or PreRamble)

Anarchism comes from our needs and desires for freedom, equality and solidarity. It is the means by which the working class can win the class war.

Anarchists think that the problems that afflict humanity and the planet are caused by the present system and its inequalities. These ills, and the system which creates them, are not only harmful but unnecessary. Society can be organised in a better way, a way that meets the needs of all and the environment but gives privileges to none.

We want justice and equality to be achieved in all human relationships. Therefore we fight to abolish all institutions and relationships which create inequality and oppression, such as the state, bureaucracy, the wages system, capitalism, private property, sexism, racism and all forms of hierarchy.

Under capitalism, a minority owns and controls social wealth and the means to create it. This results in power and privilege for the few, poverty and injustice for the rest. State ownership (nationalisation) does not change this. Instead, we want society to own the means of life and for those who use them to run them to meet their needs and the needs of all, not for profit or to benefit a minority. This is workers control, the basis of real socialism.

Socialism can only be built and run from below, by and for everyone. No political party acting or seizing power on our behalf can do it for us. It can never come through Parliament or any other state. States are organised to defend privilege. Also, by their structure and workings, they create

a bureaucracy with its own interests, power and privileges. They can never be used to abolish inequality and injustice.

Anarchism does not place power into the hands of a new ruling elite. A truly revolutionary movement must prefigure the new society we hope for. Therefore, anarchism is based on free federations of autonomous groups, directly controlled from the bottom up by their members. These federations only coordinate the decisions made at the base. Hence self-management replaces government. This decentralisation ensures that we take control of our own fates, without leaders and led. Socialism without this can only lead to slavery.

We reject the dead end of electioneering. We must instead organise and fight where we have real power, in our workplaces and communities. From there we can impose by direct action that which politicians can never realise in Parliament or the City Chambers. Only this can create the spirit of revolt needed to resist oppression and get improvements in the here and now, as well as creating a new world.

This new world is not for the distant future. It exists now, in our hearts. By organising federally, using direct action and showing solidarity we create the ideas and structures of this new world within the present one. Only this will allow us to organise as a class and takeover our workplaces and communities, so winning the class war. Without this takeover we will struggle within capitalism but never replace it and the state.

We are not only fighting for a free Scotland, but a free world. All working class people across the globe face similar problems caused by the same system. Capitalism is organised internationally, so must we to fight it effectively.

Solidarity is Strength!



"Aims and Principles" (tentatively for group examination)

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The working class can therefore not utilise the state machine as a means of emancipation.

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We therefore advocate organisation of the workers as a class at the point of production to replace trade and general workers unions which are obsolete industrially and insulated from democratic control due to their centralised nature.

We also advocate community organisation to replace the centralised town councils.

Here we would have an industrial organ dovetailing with the commune for the purpose of defence, offence, and administration.

x x x x

The basis of our organisation is opposed to all centralised institutions and tendencies. We are therefore opposed to all political parties.

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Each place of work deals with its own affairs.

Committees are federated to other local committees when coordination is essential as in a strike situation.

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## Women and Glasgow Anarchism Some Background and Opinion

From first hand experience there has only been a handful of women involved with Glasgow Anarchism over the last several years. From second-hand knowledge this is also true of the last twenty years. Historically someone like Ethel McDonald, an anarchist radio announcer from Glasgow during the Spanish Revolution, is partly notable as she was very much the exception. I would appreciate it if someone could give a more detailed account of the involvement of women in Glasgow Anarchism before the 1970s. Despite someone thinking I must have a problem I think the lack of involvement of women in Anarchism is an embarrassment.

Turning up on a demonstration as a boy's gang isn't very impressive. This is especially true as anarchists claim to be interested in human liberation, but don't seem to be very good at including half of ~~the~~ humanity. Other left-wing groups in Glasgow don't seem to have this problem, ~~though the left is not a~~ so it can't be put down to a West of Scotland male dominated cultural thing. Only a small percentage of members of the national Anarchist organisations such as the D.A.M. and Class War are women. The SWP and Militant concentrate on recruiting in universities and Further Education colleges also traditionally dominated by white males. If these institutions have moved towards a 50-50 gender mix why haven't anarchist groups?

There was a guy in ~~the~~ a Poll Tax I was in who was expelled from the SWP for beating up his wife also an SWP member. Perhaps anarchist groups would be taken more seriously by women ~~if they~~ were prepared to do something about the anti-social behaviour of their comrades instead of sitting on the fence or ~~just~~ burying their head in the sand.

Some people have put down the lack of interest ~~in~~ by women in Anarchism in Glasgow to the involvement of two comrades in the sale of pornography. There have been people who I respect who have kept their distance because of them, but then again there are others who will use any excuse to do nothing. There is no even agreement in feminist circles as to whether pornography is a good or bad thing or whether it causes violence against women. The Feminist Anti-



Censorship Taskforce published a ~~book~~ book of their favourite pornographic pictures. Claudia in her first pamphlet likened the anti-pornography brigade with the female Christian moralisers of the Temperance Crusade of ~~(the 19th)~~ a century ago. She was also highly critical of a call at a Women Against Violence Against Women rally, by women who from Malesworth Peace Camp who had been raped by male peace campers, for women to go out and smash up Pom shops. This was seen as another distraction from attacking the men who had actually carried out the violence against the women. She concluded that crabby attitudes towards women have more to do with the negative influence of the church and the family on society. At a previous discussion on pornography feminists were invited to argue their case against pornography with John Cooper. One middle-class feminist did turn up, but didn't come up with one good argument against it. Some time after this discussion I started thinking in terms of who would I be standing next to behind the barricades, metaphorically speaking, come the glorious day of the revolution, John Cooper or the middle-class feminists. I came to their conclusion that it would be John Cooper and this has almost quite literally come true in the anti-fall tax movement when I found myself on at least a couple of occasions on the streets with John trying to stop warrant sales. I wonder where the middle-class feminist was at the time.

The anti-social behaviour of Farquhar McAlroy is a totally different ~~matter~~ matter. A ~~subject~~ subject matter that got conveniently swept under the carpet again rather than resolved during the organisation of the Summer School. I think this group should come to a general agreement that molesting someone is wrong in itself and anyone who keeps doing this sort of thing is not welcome in this group. I do not consider Farquhar as a comrade, among other reasons for groping a woman at a meeting I attended ironically on Women and the Spanish Revolution. Anyone like him is a liability. How ~~for me~~ ~~supposed~~ could we get someone involved in group activities when we ~~would~~ would have to warn them about this sort of behaviour. When I brought up the subject of Farquhar's behaviour at a Workers City meeting, a group he was a



~~group~~ prominent member of, they wanted to know what was in it from them in terms of new members especially females getting mixed, if they barred him. ~~It was~~ The group was after all supposed to be open to everyone. I was also reminded by one of them ~~that~~ what a good boxer Farquhar was in his youth.

Two doors up the street from where I grew up there was a young guy who was more or less tortured at school because of a particular physical disfigurement. He grew up to be a child molester and he and his family were told in no uncertain terms to get the fuck out of the area.

I used to stick up for him at school and the way he was treated probably helped to fuck him up. It was seen likely he was abused himself, but I still think it was the right thing to do to tell him where to go even though it was in some kind of magic solution. In an anarchist society or community anti-social behaviour and crime will have to be dealt with. Or do people think one day there will be a revolution and the next day everyone will start being really nice to each other. Perhaps we can let someone else sort it out as usual.

Can we please avoid politically correct point scoring. I remember several wonderful discussions on sexism where comrades have been attacked for not using the right ideologically sound language or attitude by those <sup>above</sup> fortunate enough to have their consciousness raised ~~about~~ the rest of us plebs. It's very easy to come up with all the right arguments at a meeting of political activists. It's also very easy to learn anti-semitic language and attitudes. I know people who have done it, but it still didn't stop them from going to rape. Back in the real world, where I work, for example, I've found feminist arguments from meetings and books to be a complete waste of time.

I'm partly interested in this discussion as a way of addressing how we aim our propaganda at specific groups or how we recruit them or should we be taking a different approach?



AT THE LAST DISCUSSION MEETING THE GROUP FORMALLY ADAPTED A MEMBERSHIP STRUCTURE WITH A NUMBER OF AIMS AND PRINCIPLES. MEMBERSHIP IS OPEN TO ANYONE WHO AGREES WITH THESE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES. THE IMMEDIATE AIM OF THE GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP IS THE SETTING UP OF A SOLIDARITY CENTRE. THE LONG-TERM AIM OF THE GROUP IS THE CREATION OF A FREE AND CLASSLESS SOCIETY WITHOUT HIERARCHIES. THIS SOCIETY WILL BE BASED ON MUTUAL AID AND VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION WITH PRODUCTION BASED ON THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE AND THE ENVIRONMENT NOT PROFIT. RACIST, SEXIST, HOMOPHOBIC OR ANY OTHER ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR WILL NOT BE TOLERATED WITHIN THE GROUP OR THE CENTRE. THE CENTRE WILL BE RUN FOR AND BY WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE. THE CLASS SOCIETY WE LIVE IN IS THE MAJOR CAUSE OF THE PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY THE WORKING-CLASS THE WHOLE WORLD OVER. WE BELIEVE THAT A CLASSLESS SOCIETY CAN ONLY BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE WORKING-CLASS ITSELF AND NOT BY A POLITICAL PARTY OR SOCIAL ELITE ACTING ON ITS BEHALF. DUES WILL BE A WEEK UNWAGED, £ WAGE. THE COST OF RUNNING A CENTRE WILL BE CONSIDERABLE SO FURTHER DONATIONS ARE VERY MUCH NEEDED AND WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED. COSTS WILL HOPEFULLY ALSO BE MET BY MONTHLY FUND-RAISING SOCIALS.







# Glasgow Anarchists

Group News  
Feb/March 1994  
Vol 2 No.2  
POB 1008 G42 8AA

**Discussion Meeting on Ireland:** North & South  
Thursday 3rd March @ 7.30pm Large Hall, City Halls,  
Albion St (Door F or D). With the Downing St. Declaration, Sinn  
Fein has an ultimatum to join or forsake 'the peace process'  
meanwhile loyalist terrorism increases. Anarchists are torn  
between our distaste for nationalism & authoritarianism on the  
one hand and solidarity with oppressed people on the other.  
Alan of Class War opens the debate

**Class, Crime & Surveillance -**  
Wed. 30th March 7.30pm. Large Hall,  
City Halls, Albion St. With the spread of  
surveillance cameras in city centres  
(Glasgow soon) & other "measures to  
combat crime", public concern at an image  
of crime & lawlessness is being used to  
introduce curbs to civil liberties. What are  
the implications for revolutionaries?

**Next group Meeting Wednesday 16th March 7.30pm**  
Room 8, Door F, City Halls. Agenda: Premises (possible officespace  
soon); Finances; VAT on Fuel \* Demo/activity; other propaganda;  
Report on SPUC demo (following week Phone Jeanne via 557-2341);  
Discussion Meetings; Local organising; APT occupation \* Δ; AOCB \*  
VAT on Fuel organising meeting Sat 19th February see  
over. Scottish Anti-VAT demo Sat 26th March in Glasgow. Posters in  
March will give details. *Propaganda meetings*, Mondays  
Clydeside Press(rear lane) 7.30 for leaflets, premises updates etc.

Glasgow Anarchists were among 28 anti-Poll Tax arrests at  
Rutherford McPherson occupation Mon 14th Feb & held  
overnight. Instead of a court appearance they were released at  
11am next day after 24hr in custody. Details at meetings.

**Socials:** A Disjointed if sometimes  
lively gathering in Hepburns on the  
31st commemorated the 1919 uprising  
with Iain Mc battling against  
background noise to give us anarchist  
analysis and Alan Mc rabble-rousing in  
his own inimitable style. With Phil  
extremely liberal towards 'pure  
Bolshy' Sparts, the debate was easily  
polarised. Ronnie of "The Clutha" is to  
be thanked for suitable folk songs.  
£33 went to the Premises Fund  
-----standing at £201.

**Variant Benefit** (Funding withdrawn by  
Arts Council) Sunday 27th Feb 8.30/ 11.30pm  
Fixll Miller St. £3. Sparta + Phil Kay.

Walk Along Canal Sun 20th. Meet  
12.30 Bishopbriggs Rail Station, if  
weather ok! Bring snacks etc 427-6398



Glasgow Anarchists (Pollokshields Commune)

Dear Comrade,

Following our last meeting, when we discussed, although in miandering fashion (my apologies), the need for flexible organisations, there was general agreement that we should now be developing further discussion on an 'Anarchist Programme' (aims and principles). Last weeks general election, if nothing else, was indicative of not a trend, but a changing attitude in British politics.

The actual result demonstrated to many individuals within the reformist organisations the abject impotence and futility of parliamentary means of change. This political vaccum can be successfully focussed to anarchism if we can develop a lucid, yet flexible programme, and can reconcile this to positive direct action.

I think that we will find that once we have a degree of solidity and continuity in our perspectives we will attract and hold people who, in the past, have flitted with the idea of anarchism and found little to consolidate and develop their interest.

The work of our comrades in, for example, the Art College, has shown that anarchism can have a social base.

The meeting on Thursday, 23rd June, at 7.30 p.m at the Star Club, Carlton Place, merits a maximum turnout from both comrades and friends.

Love and Kisses,

Blackguard



*luchadores*  
**de la LIBERTAD!**



*Glasgow Anarchists - The Basic Points*  
\*\*\*\*\*

- 1/ *Our organisation promotes the destruction of all means of exploitation and State oppression.*
- 2/ *We oppose the State and Parliamentary Democracy.*
- 3/ *We advocate the organisation of the working class towards these ends.*
- 4/ *We are opposed to political parties, heirarchies and leaders.*
- 5/ *Our methods of struggle include direct action in the community and the workplace.*
- 6/ *We want to achieve a free and equal society and the abolition of wage slavery.*

*For a fuller explanation see our "Aims and Principles" available from Glasgow Anarchist group at the usual address.*

~~~~~



## Glasgow Anarchist group mailing January/February 1994

### Special Meeting: 75th Anniversary of 1919 George Sq uprising

Hepburn Bar lounge, London Rd.  
near Glasgow Cross (was "Johnnie Scobies")  
Monday 31st January,  
7.30-9.30pm  
Speakers/ Poetry/ Music/ Discussion.  
A Night to celebrate the spirit of "red  
clydeside".

**Thursday 3rd February 7.30pm**  
**Room 8, Door F, City Halls (Albion St.)**  
**Monthly Group Meeting.**

#### **Agenda:-**

**Premises report & possible options;**  
**Group membership\* implementation;**  
**Propaganda of word and deed;**  
**Finances and fundraising;**  
**Links with anarchists etc in Scotland;**  
**Other relevant revolutionary concerns.**  
*Gold Star for attending both meetings Δ*

#### **Update\* on Aims/Principles & Group membership.**

The special meeting in December held in the City Halls, while, not for most its allocated length addressing the subject directly, did agree to endorse the Aims & Principles drawn up by Mark in relation to the planned Anarchist Centre. The reference to "club" was withdrawn in favour of the term Centre to better reflect the agitational and educational aims that are as crucial to the idea as a place to meet and socialise. At the first group meeting on 12th January Phil sought clarification as to whether these aims applied to group activity in general, while Robert L sought to clarify whether an expanded Aims & Principles was still a priority. After some disagreement, it was agreed to reaffirm the planned group Preamble, which drawn up by Iain is printed in a separate sheet along with his definitive 'long' version.

#### **The Solidarity**

Centre "aims" drawn up by Mark are:-

- \*Membership is open to anyone who agrees with the Aims & Principles.
- \*The immediate aim of the Glasgow Anarchist Group is the setting up of a Solidarity Centre.
- \*The long term aim is the creation of a free and classless society without hierarchies.

This society will be based on mutual aid and voluntary co-operation with production based on the needs of people and the environment - not profit.

\*Racist, sexist, homophobic or any other anti-social behaviour will not be tolerated within the group or the

Centre.

\*The Centre will be run for and by working class people. The class society we live in is the major cause of the problems experienced by the working class, the whole world over.

\*We believe that a classless society can be brought about by the working class itself and not by a political party or social elite acting on its behalf.

\*Dues will be ● a week, unwaged £ waged. The cost of running a centre will be considerable, so further donations are very much needed and will be greatly appreciated. Costs will hopefully also be met by monthly fund-raising socials. £/ ● to be arranged, see Finances below.

The idea of an expanded Aims & Principles to be held over to such times (for example, if a Scottish Federation arises) when it was thought of vital importance by most of the group. We agreed to keep Propaganda meetings on Mondays as required, fixed by the monthly group meeting and hold monthly discussion meetings. The 1919 Special meeting fulfills this for January. We need topics for February and March, t.b.a. 3rd Feb..

#### **Financial Statement:-**

End of the year "Balance Sheets" were presented by Phil - Group Funds, and John C, re the Barcelona trip. The latter cost over £3,500 in terms of the main tour party. Phil, Alan Mc and John TC are going to open a new Bank Account with the aim of encouraging Standing Orders to the GAG/Solidarity Centre. The present balance owed to John C for banner materials used on the anti-racist march outweighs the current funds. Robert L has written personal appeals to Summer School contacts and has had a few positive replies, with monies enclosed. However, the finances are not enough to sustain or boost our activity. While recognising that the vast majority of activists are wage-less, we need to make more decisions to raise funds at the next Group meeting on 3rd Feb.

#### **Premises (Solidarity Centre):-**

**With one good option, closed we are reviewing our strategy. The 3rd Feb meeting to reach a decision on whether to go for a short-term large office or hold out for a larger centre with space for social activities, creche etc. The links with the question of finances is also relevant and what we need premises for.**

#### **Other News:-**

Mark@ and other activists are still concerned at the lack of a regular creche facility - a Govanhill flat may be best. Collective allotment enquiries to 558-0209@.

Self-defence enquiries to Graeme via 558-0209.

Anarchist womens group have held 3 or 4 meetings. The next one Δ is at Lynn's in Govanhill on Tuesday 1st Feb 7.30pm A pro-choice counter-presence at the March 16/17th SPUC Rally against abortion is to be organised + discussion of International Womens Day events. Phone Jan via 557-2341, for further details, or ask at meetings. Class War contacts attended a Vat on Fuel meeting in Edinburgh recently - Alan 422-1467.

GAG PO Box 1008, Glasgow G42 8AA.



## Draft Group Statement

(a.k.a. "Aims and Principles" or PreRamble)

Anarchism comes from our needs and desires for freedom, equality and solidarity. It is the means by which the working class can win the class war.

Anarchists think that the problems that afflict humanity and the planet are caused by the present system and its inequalities. These ills, and the system that creates them, are not only harmful but unnecessary. Society can be organised in a better way, a way that meets the needs of all and the environment but gives privileges to none.

We want justice and equality to be achieved in all human relationships. Therefore we fight to abolish all institutions and relationships which create inequality and oppression, such as the state, bureaucracy, the wages system, capitalism, private property, sexism, racism and all forms of hierarchy.

Under capitalism, a minority owns and controls social wealth and the means to create it. This results in power and privilege for the few, poverty and injustice for the rest. State ownership (nationalisation) does not change this. Instead, we want society to own and control the means of life and to run them to meet the needs of all, not for profit or to benefit a minority. This is real socialism.

Socialism can only be built and run from below, by and for the people. No political party acting or seizing power on our behalf can do it for us. It can never come through Parliament or any other state. States are organised to defend privilege. Also, by their structure and workings, they create a bureaucracy with its own interests, power and privileges. They can never be used to abolish inequality and injustice.

Anarchism does not place power into the hands of a new ruling elite. A truly revolutionary movement must prefigure the new society we hope for. Therefore, anarchism is based on free federations of autonomous groups, directly controlled from the bottom up by their members. These federations only coordinate the decisions made at the base. Hence self-management replaces government. This decentralisation ensures that we take control of our own fates, without leaders and led. Socialism without this can only lead to slavery.

We reject the dead end of electioneering. We must instead organise and fight where we have real power, in our workplaces and communities. From there we can impose by direct action that which politicians can never realise in Parliament or the City Chambers. Only this can create the spirit of revolt needed to resist oppression and get improvements in the here and now, as well as creating a new world.

This new world is not for the distant future. It exists now, in our hearts. By organising federally, using direct action and showing solidarity we create the ideas and structures of this new world within the present one. Only this will allow us to organise as a class and takeover our workplaces and communities, so winning the class war. Without this takeover we will struggle within capitalism but never replace it and the state.

We are not only fighting for a free Scotland, but a free world. All working class people across the globe face similar problems caused by the same system. Capitalism is organised internationally, so must we to fight it effectively.

Solidarity is Strength!



## ● Glasgow Anarchist group

MAILING NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 93

### NOTICE OF MEETINGS:-

Monday 15th Nov, 7.30pm  
Planning Meeting for Anti-Racist Demo  
below & progress on Premises @ Clydeside  
press. Phone 422-1467 or 427-6398 if unsure of venue.

Monday 22nd Nov. 7.30pm  
Room 8 City Halls, Albion St. (Door F)  
Special Discussion Forum on the *Spanish  
Revolution & the role of the CNT-FAI.*  
(Turn up at 7.30pm if you want to see  
Catalonia Video -15 min + short account).  
Enclosed some material, For copies of the texts referred  
to elsewhere in this mailing Phone the Tel no. listed.

Monday 6th December 7.30pm  
Large Hall (Door F), City Halls  
Full group meeting to discuss an Agenda including:-  
Anti-Fascist aftermath/ Book Project/ Scottish  
federation/ Stickers & leaflets/ Premises/Socials.

Monday 13th December 7.50 for 8pm start  
Large Hall, City Halls, Albion St. G1.  
Reconvened Meeting on *Aims & Principles,  
Membership and effective organisation.*  
(see account of Pool Hall meeting below and  
read Discussion Papers enclosed).

Reports of Meetings - 30 attended the  
25th Oct discussion: After the circulation of written  
material - including an Edinburgh AFA broadsheet,  
and draft G.A.G. leaflet - a vigorous debate followed  
reviewing past activities with Glasgow AFA (now  
abandoned due to intimidation & manipulation by  
Red Action); the level of the fascist threat in  
Glasgow and it's link with loyalism; the balance of  
activity between local activity initiated by us &  
activity reacting to Fascists, Leftists, the State etc;  
the importance of anti-racist resistance in commun-  
ities and educating linked to agitation; the differ-  
ence between Fascist strategies & the Left's response.  
The importance of creating a Black Block on the 27th  
Nov Demo and publicising our identity was agreed.  
[3 days later a number of anarchists attended a benefit  
arranged by Jim Kelman & friends in support of the  
Southall Monitoring Group & the Stephen Lawrence  
campaign (Stephen was killed by local racists like far  
too many from "ethnic" backgrounds.)

Our use of the Pool Hall Basement on 1st November  
contributed to our inability to discuss Aims &  
principles/ Membership etc. The room was too dark  
and dingy and there were too many bits of paper to  
read incl the weighty selection from Iain Mc. It was  
also very noisy and we felt like "freak show"  
performers with various people from the Hall/Bar  
upstairs making trips doon the stairs. Thanks to  
Robert L for making the effort & we have not ruled  
out future use if the facility improves.

### March with the Anarchist Banner Saturday 27th November 10.30am Blythswood Sq (to John St.)

We will have banners, leaflets, placards  
and invite anarchists and anti-fascists to  
join us on this Anti-Racist Demo.

We are determined to "Knock on the  
Head" any BNP recruiting in Glasgow and  
offer a radical alternative to working class  
people from any "ethnic" background.

A good tip rather than carrying weapons is to have  
a tightly rolled up newspaper or magazine in your  
back pocket that can be used to wallop them.

### Other News:-

A Glasgow Anarchist presence plus other Scottish  
libertarian socialists was involved in the resistance to  
the Police blocking of the route to the BNP bunker in  
Welling on 16th October. One of us was hit by a flying  
brick. The difficulty of transport meant that only a  
couple of Glasgow anarchists made it to the annual  
Anarchist Bookfair the same day but Lynn brought  
back material including the latest *Bad Attitude*  
*No.6*, the lively Radical (& anarcho-) feminist bi-  
monthly. Other literature available at Meetings.

A 'Halloween' Jumble Sale in the Larkfield Centre was  
held on Sat 30th October to boost anarchist funds.  
The Allotment group is underway and more hope to  
collectively obtain plots in the 'shields. Mark 558-0209  
Anarchist Self-Defence Class Friday 19th November  
5-7pm at Larkfield Centre, Creche will be arranged, 558-0209

### Join the Anarchist Party -

Bring the Kids! Weans World!

Saturday 18th December 4.30-6.30pm

This is a FUN event which just happens to  
be near the Festive Season (and Winter Solstice)

Larkfield Centre off Cathcart Rd/Butter-  
biggin Rd., Govanhill (Buses St. Enoch).

Ideas for the event to 422-1467.

### Other Social Events:-

Monday 3rd January. Annual post- N.Y. Party at  
Keith's flat, Ibrox, 10pm Ph 427-6398 to confirm.

● News of other Festive parties welcome!

Anarcho-Ceilidh planned for mid-December. Info  
at Meetings or by tel 422-1467 or 427-6398. ●  
Publicity: Paul Smith has sent us notice of a John  
McLean Society Day of debate at the Mature Students  
Room, George Service House, University Gardens (including  
Tommy Sheridan vs Alan Armstrong) on Sun 28th Nov.  
You have to reply to him to ensure a place:-  
PB Smith, 313, 143 Langlands Rd., G51 3QB.

If you have written in to our Box No. & are awaiting  
reply, let us know (in case mail is going astray).  
Similarly, if you are moving we need to be informed of  
any change of address:-

Send to **Box 1008, G.42 8AA.**

**IF YOU WANT MAILINGS STAY IN TOUCH!**



"Organisation, far from creating authority, is the only cure for it and the only means whereby each of us will get used to taking an active and conscious part in collective work, and cease being passive instruments in the hands of leaders."

Errico Malatesta, 1897

#### PREAMBLE OF THE IWW

The Working Class and the Employing Class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class have all the good things in life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centring of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work" we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system".

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

1. The Direct Action Movement is a working class organisation.

2. Our aim is the creation of a free and classless society.

3. We are fighting to abolish the state, capitalism and wage slavery in all their forms and replace them by self-managed production for need, not profit.

4. In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take over the means of production and distribution. We are the sworn enemies of those who would take over on behalf of the workers.

5. We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is by independent organisation in the workplace and the community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers' organisations must be controlled by the workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers' movement. Any and all delegates of such workers' organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers.

6. We are opposed to all states and state institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all states do not exist to protect the workers of those states, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.

7. We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of all people everywhere to control their own lives and environment.

8. The Direct Action Movement is resolved to initiate, encourage and wholeheartedly support the creation of independent workers' unions based on the principles of anarcho-syndicalism.

9. The Direct Action Movement is a federation of groups and individuals who believe in the principles of anarcho-syndicalism: a system where the workers alone control industry and the community without the dictates of politicians, bureaucrats, bosses and so-called experts.

#### DAM-IWA AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

1. Capitalism and other social systems, in which wealth and power are the property of a ruling class/elite, must be destroyed.

2. Reformist and statist solutions will necessarily fail and therefore revolution is the only possible means of achieving anarchist-communism. How far such a revolution will be peaceful depends upon the degree to which the ruling class clings on to power through violence and state repression.

3. Genuine liberation can only come about through the self activity of the great mass of the population. We regard parliament, representative democracy and political vanguardism as being obstacles to a self-managed society. Institutions and organisations which attempt to mediate in the fight against domination cannot succeed. Trade unionism, as it is presently constituted, plays an important part in maintaining class exploitation, insofar as it regulates and justifies it through collective bargaining and bureaucratic structures. Nevertheless, it is important to work within the trade union movement, in order to build up a rank-and-file workers' movement which encourages workers' control of struggle and cuts across sectional boundaries.

4. Workers and other oppressed sections of society will, in times of revolutionary upheaval, create their own democ-

ratio institutions, whether they be based on the workplace or the community. To this end we encourage the creation of organs of struggle based on the rank and file, independent of political parties.

5. Pure spontaneity is unlikely to be sufficient to overthrow entrenched class domination. Anarchists must indicate the libertarian alternative to class societies, participate as anarchists in struggle and organise on a federative basis to assist in the revolutionary process.

6. Capitalism is international and needs to be fought internationally. We therefore try to maintain contact with as many anarchist-communists as possible in overseas countries as the preliminary stage to the creation of an anarchist international.

7. We do not simply seek the abolition of class differences, for inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of race, age, sexuality and gender. Personal relationships are now often based on domination and submission. We seek not only economic revolution but a social and cultural revolution as well, involving a thorough-going change in attitudes and organisation of everyday lives to free us in our social and personal interactions.

8. We reject sectarianism and work for a united revolutionary anarchist movement.

ACF

where We Stand

"LIBERTY WITHOUT SOCIALISM IS  
EXPLOITATION,  
SOCIALISM WITHOUT LIBERTY IS TYRANNY."

#### PROPOSALS FOR MEMBERSHIP CLUB AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

1. THE NAME OF THE CLUB WILL BE THE SOLIDARITY CLUB.
2. THE IMMEDIATE AIM OF THE CLUB WILL BE TO SET UP A SOLIDARITY CENTRE.
3. THE LONG-TERM AIM OF THE CLUB WILL BE THE CREATION OF A FREE AND CLASSLESS SOCIETY WITHOUT HIERARCHY. THIS SOCIETY WILL BE BASED ON MUTUAL AID AND VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION WITH PRODUCTION BASED ON NEED NOT PROFIT.
4. RACIST, SEXIST OR HOMOPHOBIC BEHAVIOUR WILL NOT BE TOLERATED WITHIN THE CLUB OR THE CENTRE.
5. THE CLUB WILL BE RUN FOR AND BY WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE. THE CLASS SOCIETY WE LIVE IN IS THE MAJOR CAUSE OF THE PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY THE WORKING-CLASS THE WHOLE WORLD OVER. WE BELIEVE THAT A CLASSLESS SOCIETY CAN ONLY BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE WORKING-CLASS ITSELF AND NOT BY A POLITICAL PARTY OR SOCIAL ELITE ACTING ON ITS BEHALF.
6. DUES WILL BE £1 A WEEK UNWAGED, £ — WAGED.
7. THE GROUP WILL APPOINT A RECALLABLE MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY FOR LIMITED PERIODS WHOSE DUTIES WILL INCLUDE COLLECTING DUES AND ISSUING MEMBERSHIP CARDS.

Mark

Aims & Principles should read Conditions of Membership

3. should end based on peoples needs and that of the environment - not Profit



This wee handout is a contribution to the discussion on the future direction of the Glasgow Anarchist Group. In particular, it is concentrating on the topic of the structure/organisation of the group and the need (or lack of need) for "Aims and Principles".

I make no apologies for quoting Malatesta, since I think what he has to say in this (and in almost all cases) is relevant and well said. Saying that, we are anarchists and should never blindly follow "(in)famous" people nor substitute quoting for thinking. We owe both ourselves and the comrades we are quoting more than that.

Anyway, I will make a few proposals which I wish to be discussed at the meeting on the 1st of November. Obviously, the topics raised will not all be decided upon after just one meeting. Hopefully, this meeting will have a positive outcome and lead to a structured development of the group in a communist-anarchist direction.

In addition, I have not discussed what I think should be in an aims and principles as this would, I think, preempt the discussion and not let it develop naturally. I have, however, included a few examples of class-struggle anarchist aims and principles as examples.

#### Anarchism and organisation

Anarchism is based upon organisation. Without organisation, anarchism would remain a dream and social life would be impossible. Therefore, anarchists are only against authoritarian forms of organisation, not organisation as such. We will all be aware of this (or should be).

The aim of an anarchist (ie anti-authoritarian) organisation is to promote a sense of community, of confidence in ones own abilities, to enable all to be involved in the identification, initiation and management of group/communal needs and decisions and be in a position (both physically, as part of a group/community, and mentally, as an individual) to take direct action in the pursuit of y/our needs and desires.

Anarchist organisation is about empowering all, to develop "integral" or whole individuals and a community that encourages individuality (not "individualism") and solidarity. It is about collective decision making from the bottom up, that empowers those at the "base" of the structure and only delegates the work of coordinating and implementing the peoples decisions (and not the power of making decisions for people). In this way the initiative and power of the few (government) is replaced by the initiative and empowerment of all (anarchy).

The aim of an anarchist organisation is to create the correct circumstances in which social freedom (and the social responsibility that goes with it) can develop. In a very real sense, it must create the ideas and forms of the new world in the shell of the old.

With these general points, we need to discuss the present situation.

The first step in this process is to discuss the organisation and needs of the local group. As far as I can see, there are two ways the group can develop:-

1. As it is now, with no programme, no defined structure and, therefore, no defined strategy or identity.
2. To consciously develop the group along (collectively) agreed lines, ie defining what we stand for in an aims and principles, defining our ideas (in more detail) and our strategy in a programme and creating an effective anarchist group.

As should be clear, the last option gets my "vote". I think that most people would agree that the group, at present, does not meet all the aims of an anarchist organisation. Lack of direction, for example, can be very disempowering, and so demoralising.

Malatesta defined anarchist organisation as follows:-

"The anarchist organisation must, in their constitution and operation, be in harmony with the principles of anarchism, that is, they must in no way be polluted by the spirit of authoritarianism; they must be able to reconcile the free action of individuals with the need and pleasure of co-operation and help to develop the awareness and initiative of their members."

At present, the group has not been able to reconcile free action with co-operation. In practice, this has resulted in inactivity and, to a certain degree, the domination of a few individuals who know what they want (the "tyranny of structurelessness"). Due to this inactivity, in addition to people drifting away, an anarchist community cannot be truly formed (communities are always created by common struggle and action) and people can remain isolated and helpless feeling.

So how do we reconcile the two? I feel that having a set of "aims and principles", agreed by the group, which sets down the basics of what the group is about is essential. This means that individuals in the group have something to base their actions on, which has been agreed collectively. Hence, they would be a common thread to activities and a guide to action (particularly in situations where a group meeting cannot be called). In addition, it would indicate to potential members where we are coming from.

There is little point in uniting with people who do not share a common idea. This only leads to talking shops and confusion. How can life-stylist "anarchists" combine with class-struggle anarchists? One sees the solution to the social problem in terms of individual actions, the other in terms of working class struggle and organisation. To unite with people just because they call themselves "anarchists" is more than pointless, it is counter-productive. Free association also means the freedom not to associate!

Having the Aims and Principles (A&P) would mean that individuals in the group could pursue whatever action/propaganda/etc they desired as long as it did not contradict the A&Ps. Hence, we would allow people to act for themselves (develop



their own initiative), but in a co-ordinated manner.

As Malatesta said, "the individual members can express any opinion or adopt any tactic which does not contradict the accepted principles and does not harm the activity of other people".

The next step would be to formalise the way the group works. All that is required is a simple constitution, indicating how decisions are made, the role of groups delegated to do certain things (eg the propaganda group), the role of and how to recall delegates and office bearers and so on.

This would inform all the members (and potential members) how, in practice, the group works. This is vital knowledge, as any one who has sat in any meeting where the structure is not defined knows (you really don't know what is going on, who is responsible for what, where the decision making power lies, etc). It is very easy for individuals to abuse such a structure, never mind all the "informal" hierarchies which in practice dominate such a group.

And, no, I'm not saying this has happened to the anarchist group, but it could be a possibility in the future.

#### An Anarchist Programme

The need to make our politics relevant is an essential one. How do we increase our influence in the working class? In what ways can we help develop the class struggle into the struggle against class (and hierarchy), ie revolution?

Unless we define what we stand for, what we want, summarise and collate our own experiences and the experiences of others (living and dead) we will flounder about, hovering from the side-lines of history. The need to analyse struggles and the system we live under as well as apply our ideas is essential.

Hence the need for a programme.

In order to achieve this we should ensure:-

1. all discussion meetings have some practical outcome (be it a resolution outlining future action or as education).
2. We regularly discuss anarchist ideas and how to apply them.
3. We discuss past anarchist and labour movement history (those who do not learn the lessons of history are doomed to repeat them).
4. We decide to produce a programme, outlining what anarchism is, who we are, how we operate and what we aim to do.

"Educate, organise and liberate" applies just as much to ourselves as to the class as a whole.

#### Policy Decisions and Minority rights

Any discussion or business meeting we have should, when relevant produce a policy statement indicating a line of action (that is, policy decisions/statements). These statements should be seen as things to be constantly updated as events and circumstances change (particularly if they do not work in

This policy should represent the consensus option, or failing that, the majority opinion as decided by a show of hands. The minority must not be forced into things they do not want to do, having the right to secede in all issues, but neither should they interfere with the actions of the majority. The minority should never be excluded from group propaganda, having the right to put out what they want as long as it is stated clearly this is a minority position and is not group policy. In addition it should not contradict the group aims and principles.

There is no monopoly on the truth and just because the majority thinks something does not make it right. It would be strange if we, as anarchists, denied freedom of expression to fellow members of our group or were fearful of hearing ideas we did not totally agree with (or fearful that working class people might hear them as well!!!!). Diversity is a strength, not a weakness. We are not Marxists or democrats, but anarchists and should act accordingly, not ape the ideas of our enemies.

#### Conclusion and Proposals

That is my opinions on the subject of anarchist organisation. I have not covered such ideas as how we co-ordinate with other groups in a federal structure, eg an Anarchist Federation of Scotland (which should be discussed after we get ourselves organised) nor how do anarchists influence the class struggle and mass organisations (this will be partly covered in the meeting on Spain).

So, here is a few proposals for the meeting:-

1. Discuss the idea of aims and principles and what should be in them.
2. Discuss the organisation of the group and its aims.
3. Decide whether the idea of a written constitution and A&Ps are acceptable to the group.
4. If so, delegate a group of comrades to draft a copy of both, taking into account the discussions.
5. Organise a future meeting which will modify and finalise the finished copies (obviously, copies must be sent to all comrades before this meeting in a mailout).
6. That all meetings (starting with this one) be minuted and any decisions documented and included in the mailout.

This process should bind the group together and give a firm foundation to developing an anarchist programme and group for the 1990/2000's in Glasgow.

There are two formats for aims and principles, as points (like the DAM, ACF or IWA ones) or as a preamble (like the CWF and IWW). I have included some as an example. Personally, I prefer the preamble style.

"Contemporary anarcho-communism cannot remain a mere mood or tendency, waiting in the air like a cultural ambience. It must be organised - indeed, well organised - if it is to effectively articulate and spread [its ideas]; it must have a coherent theory and extensive literature; it must be capable of duelling with the authoritarian movements that try to denature the libertarian impulses of our time and channel social unrest into hierarchical forms of organisation."





## TOWARDS A FRESH REVOLUTION

Mid 1938 was a tragic period for the Spanish proletariat. In spite of their heroism and tenacity, they found themselves faced with the most fearful defeat as a direct result of their failure to crush the counter-revolution led by the stalinists backed, in effect, by the camouflaged reformists within the National Confederation of Labour (CNT), the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), and all those scrambling for control of the machinery of State. The war was a lost cause with fronts collapsing one after the other due to the treachery of stalinists controlling key positions in the decision making process. At the final meeting of *Los Amigos de Durruti*, after prolonged examination of the disaster into which the counter-revolution had plunged the revolutionary movement, it was decided to refuse to accept the finality of such a defeat, and to publish this statement - a message of hope for the future and determination to continue the struggle against international capitalism, state socialism and fascism. This message is as relevant today as it was forty years ago, and we hope the lessons learned from the events of 1938 will help to ensure that the terrible bloodbath inflicted by the counter-revolution on the Spanish working class will never be repeated.

Victory or death, comrades. That is the choice at the present moment.

Jaime Balius.

### Collaboration and class struggle

In Spain, as has generally been the case in every country, the workers' movement has shown two tendencies. One, the collaborationist one, and the other that admits no truck whatsoever with the enemy.

In this country of ours, it has been socialism with its trade-union offshoot, the UGT that has played the 'classic role of reformists. It is a refuge for renegade workers, even of infiltrators into workers' organisations whose sole purpose is to yoke the proletariat to the cart of the bourgeoisie.

The statements made by Indalecio Prieto during the Red biennium, on the occasion of the railway-

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With regard to the problem of the war, we back the idea of the army being under the absolute control of the working class. Officers with their origins in the capitalist regime do not deserve the slightest trust from us. Desertions have been numerous and most of the disasters we have encountered can be laid down to obvious betrayals by officers. As to the army, we want a revolutionary one led exclusively by workers; and, should any officer be retained, it must be under the strictest supervision.

We insist that the war be directed by the workers. We have grounds aplenty for this. The defeats at Toledo, Talavera, the loss of the North and Malaga point to incompetence and lack of integrity in the government circles, for the following reasons:

The North of Spain could have been saved if the war materials needed for resistance to the enemy had been obtained. The means were there. The Bank of Spain had enough gold to flood Spanish soil with weaponry. Why was it not done? There was time. We must remember that the non-intervention controls did not begin to make their presence felt until the war in Spain was already some months old.

Leadership in the conduct of the war has been disastrous. Largo Caballero's record is lamentable. That the Aragon Front has not been given the arms it so needs is his fault. His reluctance to arm the Aragonese sector has prevented Aragon from assuring her own redemption from the clutches of the fascists. At the same time this could have taken the pressure off the fronts around Madrid and the North. And it was Largo Caballero who expressed the sentiment that sending arms to the Aragon Front was like handing them over to the CNT.

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mens' strike, encapsulate the essence of collaborationism. They are notorious;

"I am a minister first, and then a socialist" don Inda stated then.

The Spanish revolution has suffered because of the reformists' pernicious influence on its direction. There has been no willingness to interpret the social, class meaning of the July happenings.

The class struggle that the CNT has always preached has been relegated to a secondary position by a series of issues that have proved enormously prejudicial to the course of the revolutions. Noting this relegation we must not only deplore this distortion of the revolution, but also in organic terms the ground lost through the failure to keep strictly to line of revolution on a class terrain and through having trampled Revolutionary Syndicalism into the ground.

The unions are the organs that genuinely articulate the workers' class feeling in their eternal battle with capitalism. If we relegate the unions to a secondary position, it follows naturally that the interests of the proletariat will be prejudiced.

Collaborationism is to be deplored at all times. There must be no collaboration with capitalism

whether outside the bourgeois state or from within the government itself. As producers our place is in the unions, reinforcing the only bodies that ought to survive a revolution headed by the workers.

Class struggle is no obstacle to workers continuing at present to fight on in the battlefields and working in the war industries. But it is imperative to keep it in mind that we proceed to each new initiative with a class sense, giving the unions the priority that is their due.

There must be no other economic body outside

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We are opposed to collaboration with bourgeois groups. We do not believe that the class approach can be abandoned.

Revolutionary workers must not shoulder official posts, nor establish themselves in the ministries. For as long as the war lasts, collaboration is permissible - on the battlefield, in the trenches, on the parapets and in productive labour in the rearguard.

Our place is in the unions, in the work place, keeping alive that spirit of rebellion which will bloom on the earliest occasion that presents itself.

We must have no part of combinations devised by bourgeois politicians acting in concert with foreign chancelleries. That would be tantamount to strengthening our enemies and tightening the noose of capitalism. No more portfolios. No more ministries. Let's get back to the unions and the nitty-gritty of work tools.

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Let us campaign for unity among the proletariat. But on the understanding that this unity must be between workers, and not with bureaucrats or sinecurists.

At present, an agreement with the revolutionary wing of the UGT by the CNT is a feasible prospect. But we do not believe that an understanding is possible with the UGT of Catalonia, or with Prieto's followers.

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Socialisation of the economy is crucial to victory in the war and progress in the revolution. The present drift cannot continue. Nor should anyone believe there is any advantage in the various centres of

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the unions to restrict their powers. And the State cannot be retained in the face of the unions - let alone bolstered up by our own forces. The fight against capitalism goes on. Inside our own territory there is still a bourgeoisie connected with the international bourgeoisie. The problem is now what it has been for years.

Let us keep the unions true to themselves. Let us keep to the line mapped out by the CNT in its particular confrontation with our native bourgeoisie, as was always the norm up to 19 July.

Collaborationists are allies of the bourgeoisie. Individuals who advocate such relations have no feeling for the class struggle, nor have they the slightest regard for the unions.

Never must we accept the consolidation of our enemy's positions.

The enemy must be restricted. If ever faced with a hiatus we must never allow that social deviation to develop into a position of open assistance to capital.

There can be absolutely no common ground between exploiters and exploited. Which shall prevail, only battle can decide. Bourgeoisie or workers. Certainly not both of them at once.

The working class holds the future in its hands. We pariahs have nothing to lose and, on the contrary, we can win our emancipation which is the destiny of the family of workers.

Let us break the shackles. Let us strengthen our unions. Let us keep the spirit of class struggle alive.

### Our position

It is time to be specific. We shall be so, with respect to each of the problems posed by the present situation

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production operating to no co-ordinated pattern. But it has to be the workers who see that this is done.

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Nor should the business about religion come up for further discussion. The people have already delivered its final verdict on that issue. Nonetheless, a tendency aimed at re-opening the churches, has emerged. Implementation of the law of freedom of worship and celebration of masses lead us to the conclusion that those in Government have forgotten the days of the great burnings.

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There must be strict rationing in the distribution of goods. That workers should go hungry while hoarders find food in restaurants controlled by the working class is intolerable.

Distribution must be socialised and accompanied by rationing.

Bureaucracy must go. The thousands of bureaucrats who have descended on Barcelona are one of the worst plagues ever visited on us. In place of a bureaucrat, there ought to be a worker. And by bureaucrat we mean any cafe layabout.

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Absolute suppression of the bureaucracy.

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Fabulous rates of pay must go immediately. It is scandalous that where militiamen are earning ten pesetas a day, the bureaucrats are taking home such huge wages. Azana and Companys are still drawing the same salary as before.

**Reading List:** You can get photocopies(@) or borrow books(\*) if you tel the number below. Similarly Iain, who is opening the discussion on the Spanish revolution, will have a 6-10 page text to give out, but you can get in advance by contacting us. Emma Goldmann - Vision on Fire (Iain @); Jose Peirats What is the CNT in Meltzer ed. A New World in our Hearts (@ Keith); Noam Chomsky - Liberal Scholarship & Objectivity (Keith @); Murray Bookchin & Gaston Leval, essays in Dolgoff ed. The Anarchist Collectives (@ Keith); Augustin Souchy - Beware! Anarchist! (Mark \*); George Orwell - Homage to Catalonia (Mark \*); Vernon Richards - Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (Iain \*); Liz Willis - Women & the Spanish Revolution (@ Keith); Wildcat (UK) & Wildcat Spain (book) critical of CNT, essays (@ Keith); Manolo Gonzales essays on Civil War & childhood in Anarchy (@ Keith). These and other titles such as Bolleten's 900page book & Borkenau's Spanish Cockpit are available from AK, 22 Luton Pl., Edinburgh (catalogue on request). Keith - 427-6398, Mark - 558-0209; Iain at 15th Nov meeting or via others.



We want to see the introduction of the family wage. And an end, once and for all, to this galling inequality.

It must be the people who administer justice. We cannot countenance the false practice that has grown up in this regard. There has been a drift away from the early class tribunals to courts made up of career magistrates. And we are going back to the way things used to be. Now they are doing away with the juries. Proletarian justice belongs to the workers alone.

There must be progress towards socialisation of the farming industry in Spain. The sabotaging of the collectives has harmed agriculture enormously and has favoured speculation. Contact between town and countryside will bring the peasants closer to the proletarian class. And the mentality of the farm-worker used to tilling his own particular plot will be changed.

Like any other activity in the country that falls under the headings social, cultural or economic, cultural problems are the indisputable province of the workers. It was they who set the pattern of this new era.

Revolutionary order will be enforced by the workers. We insist that the uniformed corps, which are no guarantee of revolution, be dissolved. The unions must supply the men whose task it is to guard the new order we wish to implant.

## II - All economic power to the syndicates.

Since July the unions have supplied evidence of the great capacity for constructive labour. Had we not relegated them to a secondary position, they would have yielded a great return on the investment. It will be the unions that structure the proletarian economy.

An Economic Council may also be set up, taking into consideration the natures of the Industrial Unions and Industrial federations, to improve on the co-ordination of economic activities.

## III - Free municipality.

Prior to the coming of the foreign dynasties, municipal rights were defended with great tenacity in Spain. Such decentralisation precluded the erection of a new State system. And in this new Spain which the proletariat looks forward to, the charter of freedoms that went under at Villalar shall rise again. And the so-called Catalan and Basque problems will be resolved.

The Municipality shall take charge of those functions of society that fall outside the preserve of the unions. And since the society we are going to build shall be composed exclusively of producers, it will be the unions, no less, that will provide sustenance for the municipalities. And, as there is no disparity of interests, there can be no conflict.

The Municipalities will be organised at the level of local, comarcal and peninsula federations. Unions and municipalities will maintain liaison at local, comarcal and national levels.

As to foreign policy, we shall accept no armistice; and, when it comes to propagandising our revolution, we are of the view that that work must be done among the production centres abroad; not in any chancelleries, let alone any cabals.

We must speak to the workers abroad in the language of revolution. So far the vocabulary of democracy has been employed. It has to be brought home to the workers' organisations, to everyone, that they must act: to sabotage fascist production: to refuse to load raw materials or war materials for the assassins of the Spanish people. And that they must demonstrate in the streets, to demand fair treatment by their governments for the cause we defend, which is the cause of the world's proletariat.

## Our programme

Revolutions cannot succeed if they have no guiding lights, no immediate objectives. That is what we find lacking in the July revolution. Although it had the strength, the CNT did not know how to mould and shape the activity that arose spontaneously in the street. The very leadership was startled by events which were, as far as they were concerned, totally unexpected.

They had no idea which course of action to pursue. There was no theory. Year after year we had spent speculating around abstractions. What is to be done? The leaders were asking themselves then. And they allowed the revolution to be lost.

Such exalted moments leave no time for hesitancy. Rather, one must know where one is headed. This is precisely the vacuum we seek to fill, since we feel that what happened in July and May must never happen again.

## Towards a fresh revolution

The demise of the July revolution has been rapid. None of the revolutions generally regarded as the archetypes of social revolution experienced such a giddy decline.

There can be no theorising about events following one another in stages, because revolution is not yet a fact. It is imperative that the inexhaustive genius of proletarian Spain be tapped once again. We must go out and make a new beginning.

Revolutions occur with great frequency in our country. Sometimes they are embarked upon without the requisite conditions being present and with no possibility of success. One has to be able to divine the precise moment, psychologically and insurrectionally speaking. The outcome hangs on the correct choice.

Making forecasts is no easy task. Who can say when a new July or even a new May may be possible? We may assume, however, that in Spain the conditions will present themselves afresh.

If the war continues to take this unfavourable turn all the politicians looking for a way to arrive at an armistice and a fraternal embrace will have to be cast on to the dung-heap. Good evidence of this is the sabotaging of the war, the war industries and the whole gamut of supplies, as well as the inflated prices of food - an inflation fomented by those in power with an eye to creating a favourable atmosphere in which to execute their plans for strangling the revolution.

It may, perhaps, be that a negotiated settlement becomes a reality. Then the time will have come to resist it by force of arms. And should we win the war those problems that are posed in such poignant form

We are introducing a slight variation in anarchism into our programme. The establishment of a revolutionary Junta.

As we see it, the revolution needs organisms to oversee it, and repress, in an organised sense, hostile sectors. As current events have shown such sectors do not accept oblivion unless they are crushed.

There may be anarchist comrades who feel certain ideological misgivings, but the lesson of experience is enough to induce us to stop pussy-footing.

Unless we want a repetition of what is happening with the present revolution, we must proceed with the utmost energy against those who are not identified with the working class.

After this brief preamble, we shall now proceed to set out the items of our programme.

## I - Establishment of a Revolutionary Junta or National Defence Council.

This body will be organised as follows: members of the revolutionary Junta will be elected by democratic vote in the union organisations. Account is to be taken of the number of comrades away at the front; these comrades must have the right to representation. The Junta will steer clear of economic affairs, which are the exclusive preserve of the unions.

The functions of the revolutionary Junta are as follows:

- a) The management of the war
- b) The supervision of revolutionary order
- c) International affairs
- d) Revolutionary propaganda.

Posts to come up regularly for re-allocation so as to prevent anyone growing attached to them. And the trade union assemblies will exercise control over the Junta's activities.

today will be roused again on the return of our comrades from the fronts. What solutions will be found to them?

How will the industry of war be converted into an industry of peace? Will there be work for the fighting men? Will all the victims be looked after? Will the officer class resign itself to the loss of its sinecures? Can markets be won back again?

The three dates we have described each correspond to different positions. We cannot say which will apply. The problem, however, hinges on the preparation of a new rebellion so that the proletariat can assume control of the country in a definite way.

They cannot say we are over-reacting. The present moment has nothing revolutionary about it. The counter-revolution feels quite bold enough to mount all sorts of provocations. The jails are crammed with workers. The rights of the proletariat are openly denied. We revolutionary workers are treated like underlings. The language of the bureaucrats, in uniform and out of uniform, is intolerable. Not to mention the attacks on the unions.

A fresh revolution is the only course of action open. Let us set about its preparation. And at the height of a new stroke, we shall join the comrades who are today away fighting on the fronts, the comrades in the jails and the comrades who, even now, cherish the hope of a revolution that may bring justice to the working class; all in the streets together.

To the success of a fresh revolution that will bring the workers of town and country complete satisfaction. To the attainment of an anarchist society that will satisfy man's aspirations.

Forward comrades!!

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## ● Anarchist Organisation

## and the

## Organisation of Anarchists ●

see Blue sheet for Iain's essay. Some of the Aims & Principles are on back of the Newsletter



# The libertarian idea in a modern city

# Life in Revolutionary Barcelona

By Manolo Gonzalez

**O**ur house in Barcelona, in the Ramblas, conveniently close to the *Rialto* Cinema, was an ancient, respectable building. It was reconstructed in the late 1800s, on the site of a dwelling that we like to believe was originally from the time of the Romans. It was purchased by my grandfather Mariano on the eve of his wedding to my grandmother Hortencia. Before that his family had rented the house and a small piece of land used as a tannery. For all I know we had lived always in this house. I had a large room near a patio where I kept potted plants. A small fountain adorned the little open area; the birds used it as a drinking fountain and a place to refresh themselves in the hot summer days.

In 1934 our house was raided by the Republican police in the aftermath of the insurrection in Casas Viejas. My father went to jail with many other Catalan anarchists. It was all part of our family tradition; my grandfather Mariano was a 'freethinker', a code word for an atheist, libertarian and a proponent of "propaganda by the deed." During the great workers strike in 1915 he went to jail. His fierce nationalism, his adamant attitude about the independence of Catalonia, and even Aragon impressed me like a sacred fire that I

should keep alive forever. He always talked about bombs, weapons, 'tools', as the group of Pestaña and others called pistols and daggers. But I don't think my grandfather actually ever shot anyone. He was busy with his business, the importation of seeds for the farmers of Andalusia, Catalonia and Aragon. He specialized in obtaining seeds from the American Shakers. "They are like us," he explained to me.

The Civil War in Spain seemed to me to have been going on forever. My father left for the Madrid front in 1936. He was incorporated into the Durruti Column, organized in the desperate days of late October when it seemed as though Madrid might fall to the fascists.

## The death of Durruti

The first time I felt directly, personally touched by the war was when I heard Radio Catalonia announcing the death of Buenaventura Durruti. It was the 21st of November 1936. Durruti was an old friend of my family. He often came to dinner and always carried an oversized Parabellum pistol. A large, extravagant weapon, better for field operations than city protection. "Well, it has 21 bullets and it is my way to tell everybody to keep away from me," he used to explain to my parents in his hard Castilian that

was difficult for me to understand. Durruti was from Leon. I spoke Castilian with difficulty. Catalan was my first language.

A few days after Durruti's death my father came back to Barcelona. He needed instructions from the FAI-CNT [the Iberian Anarchist Federation in alliance with the anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Workers], and the Generalitat of Catalonia now that Durruti was dead. "We were in the new University City, near one of the battalions of the International Brigades," my father told us. "The English and Canadians were holding the Science Library building. Durruti was with four friends, when one bullet killed him instantly. His chauffeur thought it was an accident." But Baltazar Porcel in his book *La Revuelta Permanente* published in 1975 insinuates that Durruti was assassinated by Communists. There always will be controversy about Durruti's death.

The funeral of Durruti was attended by almost 250,000 men and women from all over Catalonia and Aragon. After that, Barcelona changed. The civil war became a cruel, confusing episode. There was the enemy we knew: the fascists, Franco, Hitler, Mussolini. And then there was the enemy we could not always identify, the authoritarian marxists, the 'Cheka' and his Russian com-



FAI-CNT militia in Barcelona. The author's mother is second from right.

missars, feared because they lived among us.

## Sons and daughters of the people

My father returned to the front. My mother was called to the women's militia, whose assignment was to guard the buildings that the FAI-CNT needed secured to avoid control of Barcelona by the military and political machine of the Communists.

At the time I was called 'Palitos' (Matchstick) and together with other children was supervised in a collective childcare center, organized by families involved in the mobilization for the war. It was staffed by people opposed to violence, including a British Quaker, and several ex-nuns who embraced libertarian principles with great talent. The anarchists' children distributed among ourselves duties, like cooking, kitchen cleaning, recreation and self-defense with chaotic inefficiency; but it was we

who decided! We changed duties almost every day. The socialists and communists tried a vertical organization with pint-sized commissars, salutes with clenched fists and even a minuscule bureaucracy with a secretary general and a treasurer. They tried a trumpet call to announce meals. When the communists appeared with a big portrait of Stalin we hooted them down, we laughed at them. "We are free, you scum." The little reds caught by surprise complained to the party. An adult showed up. He harangued us, "To win the war we need discipline and order." We went into direct action. First a strike. Dirty dishes everywhere. The reds had to stop their military duties and clean up. Then we started to cook only for free children. The reds gave up; we all became Hijos del Pueblo. Equality and libertarian communism.

Barcelona's city hall sent food. Excellent fruit, lentils, rice, milk and poultry. A doctor visited every Monday. The Generalitat of Catalonia had decreed free education for all. That included

many adults. Men and women after finishing their jobs attended the different illiteracy night programs. Culture for the people was one of the ardent demands of the FAI-CNT.

## Libertarian education

The collective childcare was run as an elementary school. Teachers that had worked in the Ferrer schools were freed from duties in the militia, and given positions in Catalan schools. Even the *burguesitos* attended. In our school the children organized the curriculum. We hated militarism and religion; art and culture, as our parents had taught us, were our most intense passions. We sang, we wrote reports on the classics, we acted revolutionary plays and demanded films. Chaplin, American westerns and French melodramas. We wanted history. The Carlistas war, the Napoleonic wars and especially the organizing of the American federation. We were all federalists!

From July 1936 in Catalonia and parts



of Aragon the collectivization of the means of production gathered momentum. Years of planning, discussions and dreams came to be tested on the farms, in the industries and especially in running one of the most modern European cities, certainly the most advanced technical capitol of the Iberic Peninsula. Catalonia was an autonomous society ready to try cooperation and mutual aid.

We traveled all around Barcelona. Transportation was free, so we went to factories to be near the workers and learn how to run machines. We went to farms to see the land reform. We visited museums. Gaudi's *Sagrada Familia* we disdained. In those excursions we carried vouchers that were honored in many restaurants that were part of the collectivized food industry. After we went to see "Swan Lake," I demanded dance classes. My friend Libertad, who loved Jean Gabin, organized a petition for sex education. The socialists and the communists were opposed. Some parents came to protest, "It will encourage promiscuity," and they talked about "family values." The reds quoted Stalin about the sanctity of the Family and in strange alliance with the Catholics denounced our interest as pornography in the schools. It was part of the Communist policy to be nice to the middle classes. A boy, Carlos Lizarraga, son of a Communist politician, piously, requested morning prayers, "for our heroes at the front." He was embarrassed. Still blushing, he was given an education in war strategy, weapons, and tactics. "Who wins does not depend on God, or the Virgin, you ass." We were scathing. When Carlos tried to explain: "My father told me I could go to the workers' paradise, to the Soviet Union," we enlightened him about the dictatorship, the trials in Moscow and the murders of the old Bolsheviks. He never came back to our school. I saw him in the May 1st parade, in his uniform as a Pioneer. I was dressed as an American Indian. My face and chest painted in red, white and black, my tribal colors. I had an "eagle feathers" war bonnet and brandished a 'tomahawk'. My friend Libertad was dressed as a French revolutionary, with a pike and a black flag.

Finally it was decided that sex education would be a course with voluntary attendance. All the children attended! They even brought their friends from

other schools.

Sex education turned out to be classes in sexual ethics, birth control, sexual violence with specific condemnation of rape and incest. To the delight of the ex-nuns there was a romantic defense of free love. "No state, no church can rule in our hearts and bodies." Some enthusiastic girls designed a big poster, "Menstruation is freedom and a privilege of women." Federica Montseny, an anarchist proponent of freedom for women, visited the school. She gave us chocolate bars, a gift from the French syndicalists; we gave her songs and flowers.

In Catalonia, as in the rest of Spain, syphilis and other venereal diseases were a curse on the working class. Women of all classes joined the clubs of the FAI-CNT to be educated about this horror that destroyed the lives of so many of the people, especially the poor. The church had a heavy blame for ignoring the plight of women infected by husbands and boyfriends.

### A time for freedom

When not in school I was confined to the house. The neighbors were alert to any attack by the fascist "fifth column." There was fear that the Communists, too, might kidnap members of the POUM [the Workers Party of Marxist Unification, allied with the revolutionary anarchists], or anarchists.

At home, in our little patio I cultivated geraniums and had a cat, Rataplan, a real anarchist. He accepted his food in exchange for chasing mice. When I had finished my school assignments we could play. We would play cat and mouse. I was always the mouse. The cat was a fearless enemy of mice and planes. When the air raids started, Rataplan would stalk about menacingly in the patio, watching for the planes. I was so proud of my Rataplan, heroic and elegant in the face of death.

My mother, after twelve hours of militia duty in the Telefonica, came home, put away her rifle, pistol and ammunition in the kitchen. Then after she took a long bath we could go out. To visit friends and to hear news from the Madrid front, where my father was still on duty.

Food was adequate and kept inexpensive by the cooperatives of farmers that were encouraged to open markets all

over Barcelona. We could go shopping and get our basic supplies. Still I craved sweets, and my mother wanted meat for soups and stews. But we had music, the radio and the workers classical orchestra, organized by Pablo Casals. Popular theater was offered in open parks, especially the Spanish classics. Air raids were still sporadic, but the press warned to be careful about cinemas. The Nazis and Italian bombers had maps of Barcelona, with details about theaters and cinemas.

### Defending the social revolution

We were very much aware of the intentions of the politicians in Madrid to stop the collectivization of the economy of Catalonia and Aragon. My father was angry with a tendency of the CNT to compromise and turn all our attention to the war. "We will lose both the war and revolution. The middle classes won't fight for a libertarian society." So it was better to create a strong people's control and make of Catalonia a nation that could resist the fascists, until the oncoming European war started, and we could make alliances with France and England.

The dispute came to a confrontation. The government in Madrid and the Communists decided to have a showdown. Hundreds of 'Chequistas' descended on Catalonia. Murders of POUM members and anarchists started. Clandestine jails and cemeteries were controlled by the Communists.

On May 3rd of 1937 things exploded in street clashes. Our militia was mobilized. I was told to report to a column of children to help with messages, carry ammunition and serve as look-outs. My friend Coco Puig was in charge of passing orders from the FAI-CNT command post to the combat units. Pilar Palou, my classmate, was with her father, guarding with a machine-gun the offices of the CNT newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera*. Later in exile in France Pilar became a classical pianist.

I was given a whistle and sent to the belfry of a half burned church tower. I could hear heavy machine-gun fire in nearby areas but nothing moving against the building of the Telefonica, where my mother was. The night was cold. I had a military blanket and a wool sailor's hat. A girl came with ham and bread and



POUM militia. George Orwell is in the front line, the tall man on the left.

bottles of French strawberry soda. She had a revolver. "You need a gun?" she asked me. "Yes, better a machine-gun. From here I can wipe out a regiment," I responded. She smiled, "Let me see what I can do," and she went down by the blackened stones of the old church.

About three in the morning I was munching my ham and bread when I saw some metallic reflections under the weak light of a lamp post. "The *Guardia de Asalto*," I thought. Covering my face I looked again. Now I could see civilians with Russian machine-guns. Those funny looking things on wheels. I reacted like a madman. I blew my whistle, rushed down the tower, screaming, "They are coming...to arms...to arms!" Desperately I looked for a weapon, but I was told to shut up and cover my ass. Men and women started to shoot at the shadows. A young woman, with a canvas apron full of hand grenades slipped out from the church in the direction of the attacker; soon we heard and saw her efficient work. She blew up a machine-gun and terrorized the civilians. She came back

smiling. We roared with pride. My voice was drowned in the confusion, but still I was screaming, "death to the fascists." A burly man pushed me behind a wall. To calm me down he gave me a revolver—without bullets. But I kept on mouthing and shouting. "Bang...bang. Boom. There, you bastard, I got you!" Across the street, from the Telefonica came out a methodical professional gunfire. Rifle shots, machine-gun barrage. Grenades poured down like a metal rain over the attacker. All this lasted a couple of days. Several floors of the Telefonica were occupied by troops on orders from Eusebio Rodriguez Salas of the PSUC [the Communist-controlled United Socialist Party of Catalonia]. A few FAI-CNT battalions rushed from the Aragon front to help us. The Libertarian Youth was all over Barcelona in lorries distributing arms and food.

Barricades in the streets were erected in a few hours. George Orwell would comment: "The building of these barricades was a strange and wonderful sight." In the Plaza de Catalunya, near

the Hotel Colón there was heavy combat. Orwell would write about it too. We had repelled temporarily the attempt to undermine the collectivization in Catalonia and Aragon. Madrid sent emissaries. We sent Premier Tarradellas. Azaña was angry and disappointed. The Communist newspaper called the May events a plot. The 'Cheka' continued its macabre task on the POUM.

When I came back home, a "veteran of war," I explained to Rataplan, "I did my duty with honor. I served the people." The cat, seated with his front paws very close together, looking arrogant and critical, probably confirmed his opinion of me. I was some kind of madman, like the others.

The author, Manolo Gonzalez, promises that a second part to this story will deal with the success of the collectivization and the improvement of the economy of Catalonia, the murder of Andres Nin, George Orwell in danger of death, the Lincoln Battalion decimated by the incompetence of Gal and Copie, and the anarchist attack on the fascists in Guadalajara.



Barcelona team: J.C. Jun goal; Lynn, right defender, Mark and Gordon central def, Diane left defender; Alan L. right midfield, Alan K midfield destroyer, Paula midfield general, Keith, left midfield, strikers Stewart and Mandy. Subs. Pinky & Malcolm. Physio Jeanne, Coach Phil McP, Manager J.C. sen, Directors/Detractors Brian.B. & James.D.Y.  
Home team: Dougie goal, Yusuf, Robert, Rodger, Iain Mc -defence; Buzz, Paul Mc, Eddie, Craig - midfield; Leckie & Alan Mc -strikers. Subs Ian & Rachel. Physio Petra, Coach Karen T, Manager Robt Lynn. Directors/Detractors Charlie B & Tommy K.

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### **Glasgow Anarchists Group Mailing, October/November 93.**

**Monday 18th Oct:** Follow Up Propaganda/Premises Meeting, Stickers, Group Leaflet, Wee book, Review, Posters etc. At Clydeside Press. Report at \*\*

**Wed 20th Oct.** Next Summer School Book meeting in Govanhill. Alan 422-1467.

**Sun 24th Oct:** "Digging for Anarchy" collective allotment meeting from 10am (yes!)

ie Mark's. Venue Albert Dr opp Catholic Church, Glenapp St cul-de-sac, Pollokshields (59 bus).

**Mon 25th Oct:** 7.30pm City Halls Door F, Candleriggs. Anti-Fascism. A Discussion led by former Anti-Fascist Action comrades. Will include discussion on November BNP plans.

**Sat 30th Oct Jumble Sale at the Larkfield Centre, off Cathcart/Butterbiggins Rd., Govanhill**  
donate Jumble to Karen, Lynn, Diane. Ph Alan 422-1467 to arrange uplift. Fund Raising Event please all muck in & help raise finances post-Barcelona!

**Mon 1st November 7.30pm:** Monthly Business Meeting\*\* primarily on Membership, Aims & Principles. Note at Pool Hall, London Rd, Glasgow X next to Chip Shop.

**Mon 22nd Nov 7.30pm** City Halls, Door F, Candleriggs. Report on Barcelona trip +sneak video. Followed by speaker on relevance of Spanish Revolution today.

**Note that between Halloween & Guy Fawkes a Week of Environmental Protest has been called around the old Mischief week when people get their own back on oppressors. Use your own imagination to effect!**

*Robert Lynn has been intouch with the City Estates Dept and we are actively pursuing premises " to inaugurate a club for various cultural pursuits eg meetings on subjects and socials." Ideas to Robert 552-*

A number of comrades combined a trip to march against the Welling BNP HQ with a visit to the Anarchist Bookfair at the Conway Hall. Most stuff published is in the AK Catalogue from AK, 22 Lutton Pl., Edinburgh.  
*If you can't make many meetings, ensure you get mailings by sending us a few stamps or tel 427-6398.*



# Glasgow Anarchists

**Group News**  
**Mar/April 1994**  
**Vol 2 No.3**  
**POB 1008 G42 8AA**

**Discussion Meeting @ 7.30pm Room 8,  
City Halls, Albion St (Door F).  
Monday 25th April. John C.(Jun)Group  
Secretary will lead a discussion on  
WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN ANARCHIST**

On March 3rd, the *Womens anarchist group* held a great social in the Clutha. (after anti-SPUC action). Hold meetings. Ph Jeanne via 557-2341

**Next group Meeting Wednesday 13th April Room  
8, City Halls (Door F- 'Libertarian Socialists').**

Agenda: Mayday/ group organisation/ Premises/social trips/  
reports from local & special interest groups/ Class War  
Conference in June, Glasgow/ AOCB. More info at meetings  
**Propaganda meetings**, Mondays (excl Hols) Clydeside  
Press(rear lane)) 7.30 for leaflets-sticker, premises updates ...

**SAMPLE STICKERS ENCLOSED: TO GET MORE, COME  
TO MEETINGS OR THE DEMO OR SEND IN A DONATION TO  
COVER COSTS. PUT THEM UP IN PRIME SITES NOT IN BACK  
ALLEYS UP AT EYE LEVEL. DO GRAFFITI LOCALLY !**

**Joint Fundraising Party Sat 2nd April, Kelvingrove.  
Ph Robert B @ 339-4807. Fun/Sounds/ Food.**

## **Urgent Notice**

**Meet 10.30am to join the 'Black  
block' (anarchist) on the VAT  
on Fuel march this Sat. 26th  
March at Blythswood Sq (going  
to George Sq.). Get up & do it!**

## **Class, Crime & Surveillance**

- Wed. 30th March 7.30pm. Large  
Hall, City Halls, Albion St. With the  
spread of surveillance cameras in city  
centres (Glasgow soon) & other  
"measures to combat crime", public  
concern at an image of crime &  
lawlessness is being used to introduce  
curbs to civil liberties. What are the  
implications for revolutionaries ?

Thurs 31st March Meeting to discuss next  
meeting of **Educate** -the education workers  
network bulletin in Scotland. Contributions &  
criticisms welcome. 7pm, Baytree Cafe or 8pm at  
Wintersgills Pub, Gt Western Rd at St Georges X



**bh**  
BRITISH  
HARDWARE  
FEDERATION

# CASH SALE RECEIPT

[illegible]

TOTAL INCL VAT

3

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| 7 | 60 |
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134050

HEAD OFFICE: CANDLERIGGS.

GLASGOW, G1 1NQ.

19

93

. Hall

Received from CH. LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISTS  
the sum of TWELVE POUNDS ONLY

for use of above Hall on 16/18

1993

£ 12-00

FOR THE CITY OF GLASGOW DISTRICT COUNCIL.  
A FORM OF RECEIPT WILL BE RECOGNISED.

W2053

HEAD OFFICE: CANDLERIGGS.

**GLASGOW, G1 1NQ**

Received from

sum of

use of above Hall on

8-00

FOR THE CITY OF GLASGOW DISTRICT  
AL FORM OF RECEIPT WILL BE RECOGN

HALL LETS.





*Performing Arts*

WPGEN/2295/AT/SK

If telephoning ask for: Venues Letting

Telephone No:

227 5005/8/9

16 July 1993

Fax No:

227 5533

Candleriggs

Glasgow G1 1NQ

*Director*

Robert Palmer

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Dear Sir

CITY HALL : GLASGOW LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST GROUP

Further to your recent letter I now confirm that I have booked the following accommodation on your behalf in the above mentioned hall.

Monday 2 August 1993

No.4 Room - 7.30pm-9.30pm - Meeting - Rental: £8.00

Monday 16 August 1993

Mid-hall - 7.30pm-9.30pm - Meeting - Rental: £12.00

Monday 6 September 1993

No.4 Room - 7.30pm-9.30pm - Meeting - Rental: £8.00

Wednesday 5 September 1993

No.4 Room - 7.30pm-9.30pm - Meeting - Rental: £8.00

I trust you find the above in order and I would be obliged if you could arrange for payment of the above quoted rental to be made to the Janitor of the hall on the evening of your lets.

Yours faithfully

*M. Marshall*

for Director



GLASGOW  
CITY  
COUNCIL



All parties engaging any of the Council's Halls shall be held as having subscribed to the following rules and regulations.

## CITY OF GLASGOW DISTRICT COUNCIL—HALLS & THEATRES DEPARTMENT

### RULES AND REGULATIONS

The following Rules and Regulations shall be binding on all parties engaging one or more of the Halls and the District Council have instructed the Director to see that they are strictly adhered to.

1. The District Council and the Director reserve the right to refuse to applicants the use of any of the Halls.
2. The Halls shall not be let on Sundays except by consent of the Licensing Committee and on observance of any special conditions imposed by them.
3. The provision of all licensed services in Halls and Theatres controlled by the Halls Department will be from the Department's Licensing and Catering Section. On occasions where, for any reason, the Department cannot or will not provide this service, the provisions of Clause 4 will apply.
4. Except as provided for in Clause 3, the sale, directly or indirectly, of intoxicating liquor in any part of the Hall buildings is prohibited except (a) with the approval of the Director and (b) where a publican or hotel keeper selected by a tenant has obtained a special licence for the occasion from the Licensing Authorities. The tenant must make written application and receive written approval from the Director before instructing the certificate holder to apply for the special licence. A bar rental shall in all cases be payable by the certificate holder, whom failing, by the tenant.
5. The outer doors shall be opened and closed in accordance with the instructions of the Director, and the stewards provided therefor by the tenant, as laid down in the relative schedule of let, shall remain at their post while the doors remain open to the public.
6. The preservation of proper order both within and without the premises shall in all cases be the responsibility of the tenant who must provide sufficient additional stewards for this purpose.
7. The Director shall arrange the staffing of cloakrooms and arrange all cloakroom charges as and when required.
8. Passages, corridors and doorways shall be kept free from obstruction and all doors kept unlocked during the period of occupancy.
9. The Halls shall not be used for any purpose other than that stated in the relative schedule of let and shall not be sub-let.
10. No room adjoining the Halls shall be used for any purpose other than that for which it is set apart, unless with the consent of the Director.
11. The number of persons attending any let shall be restricted to the licensed capacity of the Hall as stated in the relative schedule of let and tickets shall not be issued in excess thereof.
12. The building or property of the District Council shall not be subjected to any abnormal risks unless specifically sanctioned by the Director and upon payment of such additional charge and observance of such special conditions as may be imposed.
13. No petrol, oil or other substance of an inflammable nature shall be allowed within any Hall building.
14. Tenants shall be responsible for any damage caused by or arising out of their occupancy to the fabric of the building or to property or furniture contained therein.
15. No nails or screws shall be driven into the structure, furniture, fixtures or fittings of any Hall.
16. No extra fittings, stage curtains, drapes, props or decorations shall be erected or brought into any Hall building without the prior approval of the Director. Before approval will be given, the tenant must guarantee that all material is or has been rendered fire-proof.
17. No alteration or addition to the existing lighting arrangements shall be carried out, no additional power sockets installed or use made of existing power sockets and no public address system, record player, tape-recorder, cinematograph or similar equipment used without the prior consent of the Director. All authorised additional lighting equipment or power supplies shall be installed by or under the supervision of the Halls Department's electrician and an appropriate charge shall be payable for the extra current, labour and facilities.
18. The use of any kitchen or kitchen facilities shall be subject to them being left in a clean and tidy condition with all refuse removed and a charge shall be made for such use.
19. All property belonging to tenants or contractors and all plant, unused supplies and empties belonging to the caterers or tenants shall be removed immediately after the conclusion of a let unless the Director directs otherwise.
20. To enable the District Council to implement the conditions laid down in the licence from the Performing Right Society Ltd., all music performed must be listed on the special form enclosed with the contract of let except where printed programmes are issued. The completed form or one copy of the printed programme must be forwarded to the Director or handed to the Janitor of the Hall immediately after the conclusion of the let. In the case of dance music, the tenant should instruct the band leader to complete the form.
21. The District Council shall not be liable for any loss or damage to property or goods used or exhibited in the Halls or left by tenants or persons attending thereat.
22. It is a condition of all lets that the District Council is freed and relieved of all responsibility for loss or damage arising directly or indirectly from and Act of God, war, strikes, riots, lockouts, trade disputes, fire, flood, or similar occurrences within or without the building or any cause beyond the control of the Council or from cancelling the let under Clause 23 hereof.
23. The Director and the District Council shall have the right at their discretion, by notice in writing personally given or sent by registered post and addressed to the tenant, of cancelling a let if, in their opinion, circumstances have arisen which indicate that damage to Council property might ensue if the let were not cancelled and when the District Council exercises this right any money already paid to the District Council in respect thereof shall be refunded to the tenant.
24. The total charges due by a tenant shall be paid at least seven days in advance and only the Halls Department official receipt will be recognised as a discharge thereof.
25. Any tenant who cancels or postpones a let shall be liable to pay a cancellation fee amounting to (a) one-third of the total charges if (i) more than one calendar month's notice of cancellation or postponement is given in writing or (ii) the accommodation has been booked for less than one calendar month and twenty-four hours' notice of cancellation or postponement is given in writing; (b) two-thirds of the total charges if less than one calendar month's notice of cancellation or postponement is given in writing or (c) the full charges in any other case.
26. The District Council reserve the right to add to, alter or cancel any of these Regulations.

Jan. 1980



## Glasgow Anarchists group news supplement, late Aug/Sept. 93

### GAs take Barcelona by storm!

No less than a 13 strong squad are booked up to go to the Conference in Barcelona at the end of Sept/Oct 93. They plan to fly to Gerona & travel in for events. If you are astonished by this, then it's all possible not because of the Abolition of Money but because a *Glasgow Anarchists* sub group have devised a plan to raise money by a series of Social events and financial donations by people in wage labour - whether going or not.



Want to stay in  
touch, moving  
house, then keep  
us in the know at  
Box 1008, Glasgow  
G42 8AA  
tel 427-6398,  
or 422-1467.

*If you have ideas  
to improve  
our approach,  
write in, don't disappear !*

### Musical Fundraisers

**'The 13th Note' Pub basement**  
**Glassford St., off Ingram /Argyle Sts.**

**Thursday 2nd Sept:** Powermove a  
HipHop Band from Thornliebank .8.30pm

**MonSept 13th:** Pop Void -An evening of  
Special Music 1950-80, weird,wonderful and  
humorous. Raffles, Prizes, £1 @ 7.30pm.

**Mon Sept 20th:** a couple of Bands, as yet not  
finalised, folk/rock & thrash . Likely from 8.30pm

'Business' Meeting of group First Monday of  
month, next **Monday 6th September** 7.30pm  
Room 4 Door F, Albion St. Agenda includes  
Meetings in October; plans to set up an Anarchist  
Club/premises; the progress in the propaganda  
sub group drawing up leaflets,stickers etc; the  
Summer School book group and plans for  
Strategy, Aims & Principles; Spain trip news.

**Wednesday 15th September** at 7.30pm is  
the date of the next 'Educational' Discussion  
Forum. The provisional subject agreed on  
August 2nd was Anti-Fascism & anti-Racism.  
More details to be finalised on Sept 6th, City Halls  
Room 4 Door F, Albion St. Plans to hold a creche  
at the same time will hopefully be better organ-  
ised, with volunteers (+toys) to look after the kids.

**Bar B- Que Saturday 28th August**  
Victoria Gardens, Glenapp St., off  
Albert Dr., Pollokshields,

Meet at main door from 5.30pm, to be  
let in or go round back at Maxwell Rd. & shout!  
59 bus, stop after Tramway or Train to  
Polokshields East(Central).

**Veggieburgers** will be cooked, bring other  
cold food as desired. Some booze provided but  
free to bring own. £1 charge for all the food you  
can eat. **Fundraiser for Spanish Trip.**

### Other News

The Trident nuclear convoys still journey  
through Glasgow once a month. Demonstrate at  
Charing X. Only 1 or 2 days notice. Details tel  
Charles 332-5206. All welcome. Several Bar B  
Ques/Picnics have been held off Cowglen Rd.  
organised by Caledonian Green Circle, linked to  
Earth First, opposed to the Ayr Road Scheme.

A sub group of anarchist women have plans to  
hold further meetings. One meeting was held  
before the August Educational, which was a  
disappointment, lacking a focus. Women write  
in or attend meetings/events & ask for details.

A Pablo Neruda literary/Social weekend,  
celebrating the Chilean poet, will be held  
18th/19th Sept in the Larkfield Centre, details  
B.Christie, 51 Allison St. Govanhill, G42.

The 5-a-side football is suspended for the  
moment until different arrangements are made.  
Govanhill Ramblers trips to hills tel 422-1467.  
'Free Uni' Badminton/social trips tel 427-6398.

The Picket of Argyll Arcade & H Samuel shops  
took place on August 7th with around 14 comrades  
present + 1 Trot(without papers). 2,000 Anti-  
Timex Leaflets were given out. Leaflets on the  
Italian Anarchist Pinelli were given out at the  
Matinee outing at the Citizens on 11th August.

*You are  
cordially  
invited*

*to eat, drink  
& be merry,  
bring kids & friends.*





## JOBPLAN - SAY NO TO WORKFARE

by Edinburgh Unemployed Workers Centre

In April 1993 the law was changed in order to force people who have been unemployed for one year or more onto the one week Jobplan Workshop course. If you are notified in writing that you should attend a Jobplan Workshop, and you either don't attend or leave early "without good cause", then your Income Support can be reduced by up to 40% for the week in question.

Even if they force us onto Jobplan they can't make us co-operate!

if you are angry about being forced onto this scheme why don't you

- Inform the trainers that you are there under protest and will not be participating
- Bring in newspapers, magazines, books, cards, games - even a personal stereo!
- Start your own discussion about Jobplan and the role and what people think about it, and what should be done.
- Along with other claimants on the workshop draw up a list of grievances and demands for better conditions.

### AVOIDING JOBPLAN

The regulations governing Jobplan state that there are certain circumstances which give a "good cause" for not attending Jobplan.

(Regulation 21A The Income Support (General and Transitional) Amendment Regulations 1990)

- a physical or mental illness
- travelling time to the course over one hour in each direction
- having to care for a member of your household
- court attendance, jury service.
- arranging/attending a partner or relative's funeral
- performing emergency duties as part of an organised group
- having to deal with a domestic emergency

If you give any of these reasons, you will be questioned about it, and may be asked to give evidence. So make sure your excuse is a good one! If you avoid a course for one of the above reasons they will probably try and put you on another one soon after. However you may be able to miss a day during the week for one of these reasons without having to repeat the course. Be careful about saying you have to care for someone, since if this is a permanent situation then your "availability for work" and benefit will be questioned.

According to the Employment Service Internal Instructions, Restart Interviewers are supposed to give claimants the option of going on Job Club or Training for Work before forcing them onto Jobplan. So you could state, when told you will have to attend Jobplan, that you want to go on Job Club instead. There is currently (July 93) a 6-8 week waiting list for Job Club.

Why should we tolerate this harassment? It's bad enough trying to live on poverty-line benefits without this extra hassle.

Making Jobplan Workshop compulsory is just another step towards forcing us to work for our dole money (workfare). We must fight back, otherwise the government will make things worse and worse. Join the country-wide resistance to Jobplan!

Even if you don't manage to get the workshop abandoned, if several people speak out against it you should be able to stop it being so boring and oppressive. Also, there are ways you can get time off which should make it a bit more bearable. You should be able to go out - to attend a job interview - to go to the Job Centre - to see prospective employers - to see about possible college courses - if you have a benefits problem, eg your giro has not arrived. In one Jobplan workshop in Edinburgh in June on the Thursday there were only 2 people at the Workshop as almost everyone went out, to the Job Centre, to see possible employers, etc.. You could say that you wanted an outside speaker in, this is done at some Jobplan workshops.

The government is using Jobplan Workshop to try and get people onto cheap labour schemes, Job Club, and into low-paid jobs. You may be pressurised, especially in your "Personal Review" (individual interview). Remember! The Training for Work, Employment Training and Employment Action schemes are all VOLUNTARY. Job Club is VOLUNTARY. You can decline to go on them all and still keep your benefit - as long as you are actively seeking work.

If you are sent for an interview for a job you don't want - just ask lots of questions about trade union rights, wage increases, sick pay, length of breaks, amount of holidays etc.!

### CHEAP LABOUR

The new Jobplan regulations are part of general increased harassment at Restart interviews. The government wants to cut the unemployment figures by pressuring people onto cheap labour schemes like Training for Work. And the unemployed are not the only claimants under the government axe. The mis-named Child Support Act hits single parents, involving harassment and threats of benefit cuts especially against single mothers.

The government and Tory press try to justify benefit cuts by accusing claimants of being "lazy scroungers". This ignores many facts: \* Benefit rates are below poverty level - benefits should be increased not cut. \* There are 2,900,000 unemployed and only about 100,000 job vacancies - nearly 30 unemployed for every vacancy. \* Many of the jobs available have bad conditions and appalling pay - people are quite right to refuse to be ripped-off by ruthless employers. \* Most jobs don't benefit society, they just make money for the rich or protect the government's power.

\* Many unemployed people do voluntary work which is doing something worthwhile to help people. \* Many claimants do important domestic work such as child care. \* Many unemployed people study part-time at college.

## HOW best to resist racism and fascism?

Anti racist activity must be based in everyday life in the community, in workplaces, in schools and colleges. Two good examples - Newham Monitoring Project in east London have organised anti racist street patrols in areas like Canning Town. When Kuldip Sekhon was murdered by a racist in January 1990, the Southall community organised a march and 1 day strike which effectively shut down the west London borough.

Fascists must be physically stopped from organising marches, meetings, paper sales or any public activity. This is vital to stop the racist harassment and attacks which the fascists incite and organise. Simultaneously anti racists must resist the most powerful racists - the governments. EC governments, backed by their parliamentary 'oppositions' such as Britain's Labour Party, are combining to turn back refugees fleeing wars, imprisonment, torture and death - devastation itself a product of exploitation by multinationals, the International Monetary Fund, and western arms sales.

Racist state immigration controls are always linked to the profit needs of capitalism. In the booming 50's and 60's Western Europe welcomed immigrants as intended cheap labour. Now, with the recession, the EC are building Fortress Europe. Anti racists must organise material support for, and solidarity with, refugees and all threatened with deportation.

Anti racism should not be seen as a "single issue". For example Southall Black Sisters and the Southall Monitoring Group combine resistance to racism with opposition to male domestic violence and support for workers' struggles and community campaigns against injustice.

Britain's "national" anti fascist groups have significant weaknesses. The Anti Nazi League (SWP dominated) and the Anti Racist Alliance (Labour orientated) are not usually prepared to initiate mass direct action to stop the fascists. They do not seriously oppose state racism, and do nothing to promote anti capitalist struggle. Anti Fascist Action do have a positive policy of stopping the fascists..But everyday resistance to immigration controls, deportations, police oppression, and other institutionalised racism is equally vital.

And, crucially, fighting racism involves helping build widespread resistance to all capitalist attacks; in the course of such struggles black/white divisions can be overcome.

As the Southall Review say: "The fight against racism in the final analysis is the fight against exploitation. It's a fight for class... It is also a fight against imperialism. All the fights, for the sisters, the gays, they are all symbiotic, they cannot be divided."

Thanks to Southall Monitoring Group/CAFE bulletin.

### JOBPLAN - CLAIMANTS SPEAK OUT

This leaflet was written with the participation of claimants who have attended Jobplan. This is what they had to say:

"I resented being forced onto Jobplan but tried to keep an open mind as to whether it could be useful to me. However even with an open mind.... it reminded me of school - having to put up with the extremely patronising behaviour of the "leaders". And being frowned upon if you didn't do what they wanted was just pathetic. I found the whole week a complete waste of time and the only constructive thing I did was to skive."

"I was forced onto the Jobplan and decided that if I had to be there then I would not participate as much as possible. All the people (12) were annoyed at being forced onto this and most continued the week with the attitude that they weren't going to co-operate. The leaders were really annoying as they treated us like kids and were all classic examples of "It's more than my job's worth." All in all a very patronising bunch."

Published by Edinburgh Unemployed Workers Centre, 103 Broughton St.. Open 12 - 4 pm Monday to Friday. Tel. 031 557 0718. Postal address EUWC, c/o 1st Floor, 20 Melville Terrace, Edinburgh EH9 1LY (mail only)

AGAINST RACISM, AGAINST FASCISM, AGAINST THE STATE

CONTRIBUTE TO COUNTER INFORMATION

Handwritten notes:   
 1. MAGAZINES/BOOKS - CONTRAST AK \*   
 2. DISTRIBUTION: 22 CATTAN PL. EDINBURGH   
 - LATE 5 A.E. FOR HAVE LIST OF ANTI-FASSIST ACTIVISTS



## **Stickers, Leaflets Available soon!**

**Come to the 25th Oct meeting or send in a Stamp Addressed envelope to get a bumper supply of brand new anarchist stickers that you can plaster around your area. You can also get on request copies of our "Class struggle A" leaflet/ Counter Information/ Class War to sell if you let us know your needs.  
Repy to Box 1008, Glasgow G.42 8AA.**



## **Glasgow Anarchists** pre-holiday Special September 93

### **Change of Subject for 'Educational'!**

Wednesday 15th September  
7.30pm (prompt start) with Creche.  
A Discussion on Strategy, the means and  
objectives. Organising with Impact!  
Room 4 Door F, City Halls.

Monday 25th October 7.30pm  
new date for Anti-Fascism/Racism.  
In Mid Hall, City Halls, Albion St.  
Creche provided.

### **Next business Meeting: Mid Hall, City Halls, Albion St.**

Monday 11th October 7.30pm  
Note this a week late due to Barcelona trip.  
Agenda: Report on Spain; Building; Activities.

**The ~~Struggle~~ Fundraiser**  
**Socials continue....**  
13th Note, Basement, Glassford St.:  
Mon 13th: as previously advertised, Pop Void.  
Wednesday 22nd 8pm. (date change) £2.50.

**An evening of Indie music  
with Guest Bands**

**Jumble Sale Saturday 18th Sept.**  
donate your jumble to Lynn in  
Govanhill, Diane in Dennistoun  
or Jeanne in Springburn. Phone  
Alan 422-1467 for details.  
Venue to be confirmed.

### **Glasgow Anarchist group**



PO Box 1008, G42 8AA

**ook group** Deadline for submission of  
Articles, thoughts about the Summer School,  
history of Glasgow anarchism **11th October.**

**Monday 20th Sept,** Clydeside Press.  
Next 'Propaganda' sub group meeting to come  
up with stickers, leaflets etc. 7.30pm.

Around 20 people turned up for the Veggie-  
burger **BarBQue** in Pollokshields with Allotment  
hosts Tracy & Mark. Mick bad farewell before  
departing for Amerika. A big crowd also turned up  
for the **1st Spain Fundraiser** with Rap/Hip Hop  
music and band, Powermove.



27.4.82.

Dear Comrades,

Now that we know there is to be a festival here in Dundee - Sat. 1st May - it seems better to alter the conference agenda to accommodate spending some time there. The event organisation is by Dundee NONOXES MUSIC but is largely in the hands of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~side~~ <sup>side</sup> ~~As~~. It will take the form of 5 or 6 local bands, each playing for 40 mins, appearing free of charge. Things start at 12.00 noon and last 'till 5.00pm. A similar event took place last year and was very well attended, despite the screening of a right-wing social event ~~at~~ at the same time. Estimated nos. were 1500. It may be possible to set up stalls but we cannot "authorise" it. We will not stop you either so would be extra person prepared. Leaflets are also welcome, as would be extra person power on the day.

#### REVISED AGENDA

VENUE: BAXTER PARK, DUNDEE

1st MAY: 12.00 - 5.00pm: free form workshops to music. Please bring banners and leaflets.

Party in evening inc. 200 pts. HOME BREW.

2nd MAY VENUE: WISHART CENTRE, PRINCES ST., DUNDEE.

11.00am START: A. REPORTS FROM GROUPS INC. REVIEW OF LAST CONFERENCE.

B. IRELAND

C. WORKSHOPS: DIRECT ACTION, IRELAND, PEACE MOVEMENT, TECHNOLOGY.

D. SPACE FOR OVERLAP.

E. SEXUALITY

END OF DAY 1. LUNCH FACILITIES AVAILABLE WITHIN CENTRE.

CONFERENCE SOCIAL.

3rd MAY VENUE: MAGDALEN YARD GREEN (WEATHER PERMITTING)  
ALTERNATIVE VENUE: 188 STRATHMARTINE RD.

12.00 - 1.00pm: LUNCH

1.00pm — ? : UNFINISHED BUSINESS FROM SUN. INC. NEXT  
CONFERENCE VENUE.

END OF CONFERENCE.



Sunday 2nd May

|                 |                                                                              |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 12.00-1.00pm    | Lunch.                                                                       |
| 1.00pm.-1.45pm. | Business including next conference and recap of decisions taken on Saturday. |
| 1.45pm.-2.30pm  | Sexuality, to be split into structured groups.                               |
| 2.30pm-3.00pm.  | Reports from groups on sexuality.                                            |
| 3.00pm.-3.20pm. | Break for refreshments.                                                      |
| 3.20pm-4.30pm.  | Open meeting El Salvadore?                                                   |
| 4.30pm-5.00pm.  | Black Star Hole                                                              |

End of conference.

We hope to have some sort of social event on Sunday evening, venue undecided.

Monday 3rd. May: Picnic if weather allows.

ps: this may be altered due to possibility of  
a festival on Sat. afternoon.



# 121 BOOKSHOP

121 Railton Road,  
LONDON SE24  
Ph: (01) 274 6655

April 1982.

Hello,

This is it. What we've all been waiting for! It's all detailed on the poster enclosed and should be self-explanatory. Over the last 2 years a conference of (some) anarchists has been held at Oxford. This year the format and the location is different—less talk, more action and a squatted building for a venue.

We hope that EVERYONE will decide to come—wherever you're based, whether you're an anarchist, anarcho-syndicalist, anarchist-feminist, libertarian socialist...etc. It's an ideal opportunity for everyone to find out what's been happening—or not—around the country and for people to make new contacts.

We will try and find accommodation for everyone who turns up, but please let us know in advance if you're coming. Phone us on 01-274 6655 or write to us at the above address. Bring sleeping-bags with you.

If you've got any ideas about the weekend, then send in the details. A few suggestions for possible discussion topics have already been made. These include—

- Civil disturbances/creative vandalism
- Squatting and the refusal to pay
- Expropriation—exchanging techniques
- The Right to Shirk
- Pornography, rape and sexism
- Fascism, Bolshevism—fighting back
- Tape exchange network/media access

If you find you're unable to come, but have material to circulate, send it on. If you can come, don't forget to bring with you any locally produced material/reports (including tapes, videos, posters, stickers, badges, etc) .

The venue is the Centro Iberico, 421a Harrow Road, London W10 (Westbourne Park tube). The dates are June 18—20 and the festival/weekend will get going between 5-7pm on the Friday. Cheap food will be provided as will some 'entertainment'.

See ya!

The Brixton Anarchists  
(Beyond the Bullshit)



Dear Comrade,

Since the Thatcher Government came to power, we have seen mass unemployment, rising inflation and an erosion of the Welfare State. The Labour Party and Trade Unions have successfully defused any potentially revolutionary situation and channelled working-class activity into their bureaucratic organisations. The result has been social apathy and disillusionment.

Today, more than ever, there is the need for the working-class to gain direct control of their lives, rather than renounce their responsibility to any party 'leadership'.

We feel that if anarchism is to offer any viable alternative to other revolutionary socialist programmes, then it is of the utmost importance that its advocates are both theoretically and practically capable of demonstrating the credibility of libertarian organisation. A divided and politically incoherent movement cannot demonstrate this and accordingly anarchism is rendered politically redundant.

We cannot have a united movement as long as anarchists remain divided between those who understand anarchism as a loose set of (apolitical) principles connected with individualism and those who view anarchism as insolubly linked with class struggle.

The critics of anarchist organisation advocate the need for the liberation of the individual from the trappings of state and authority. But they do not envisage the dawning of this liberation as being resultant from a concerted, mass working-class movement. So, somehow or another (and it is by no means clear how) individual liberty will be attained via self-liberation and self-actualisation of each individual's real aspirations. In a post-revolutionary (socialist) society this is a supreme goal. But within the confines of the present pre-revolutionary and capitalist society, such an environment cannot be brought about unless a consciousness of the class struggle and a mass working-class movement are developed.

We have stressed the need for the rejection of individualism and for the growth of a class-struggle consciousness and towards this end we see the need for more critical analysis of basic anarchist assumptions within the Glasgow Anarchist Group. Without this development the Glasgow Anarchist Group will continue to react sporadically to coming events rather than develop a true revolutionary consciousness.

[REDACTED]

To anyone who takes their political position seriously, the above points will have an appeal. You are urged to consider your position, discuss it with your comrades.

The right-wing is growing more and more repressive - not only in Britain but worldwide. We face the very real and immediate threats of nuclear war, 'strong state' policies, victimisation of socialists, mass arrests and experiments (Liverpool, Brighton, etc.) - either we fight back or we go under. The 'broad' anarchist movement will continue to exist via 'freedom', etc. (and will occasionally unite when 'self-conscious' anarchists are the victims of state repression e.g. the Murray) but will be ineffective in the spread of libertarian socialist influence.

(cont.)



DEAR COMRADE , - - - - -

The previous page was compiled in response to our attendance at an Anarchist Group meeting in City Halls, Glasgow last May. We were under the impression that the meeting had been called to discuss a "what is to be done" approach to the Glasgow Groups activities in response to wide-spread dissatisfaction within the group.

Alas, it was not to be. After adjourning from the street to the pub (the hall hadn't been booked) a patchy meeting took place - criticisms of the group's lack of direction, inability to grow, lack of political agreement, etc. met responses like "mass movements don't work," "if people want to do something then they'll do it themselves," and what's all this talk about "class struggle" anyway?

One comrades suggestion that bringing out an anarchist newspaper would be a means of bringing the group together met with a fairly good reception. But on what basis is the group going to come together?

Being part of the "anarchist movement" by calling yourself an anarchist may make some people feel that they are taking a stand against capital's tyranny but what practically do you do?

- (1) We need to develop a global response to capitals attacks. This means that we must build a libertarian socialist group in Britain that can act nationwide. All groups need to be autonomous but we need to appreciate the need to increase our members at local and national level to realistic levels to ensure continuity - the smaller an organization, the less work it will be able to undertake. This means re-assessing tactics. Public meetings, mass leafleting, publication of pamphlets must be heavily relied on to build up our base. Where there are one or two supporters in the same geographical area we must encourage them to agitate in their area with a view to recruiting and expanding. THIS MUST BE A PRIORITY.
- (2) We must be prepared to intervene in situations where politically we have something to say even if our personal (social) inclinations do not lean that way. e.g. CND, Ireland, industrial struggles, unemployed, international, anti-racist, women.
- (3) We need to develop and maintain a group consciousness. When it is left to individuals to read material/follow up interests based only on a) what they are personally interested in, and b) can financially/socially follow up, then the group develops ideas in line with a very few individuals who have to present new ideas, etc., in the face of lack of knowledge/interest of their comrades. The group does not respond and quickly stagnates in terms of political growth. THIS IS VERY DANGEROUS - strong emphasis must be placed on inter-group communication of ideas/thoughts/reactions to current events and their implications for our future activities.
- (4) We must acknowledge that an interpretation of capitalism based on class lines is essential. (It is a sad reflection on the British anarchist movement that this needs to be stated when addressing fellow "anarchists")

To anyone who takes their politics seriously, the above points will have an appeal. You are urged to consider your position, discuss it with your comrades.

The right-wing is growing more and more repressive- not only in Britain but world-wide. We face the very real and immediate threats of nuclear war, "strong state" policing, victimisation of socialists, mass arrests and imprisonments (Liverpool, Brixton, etc.) - either we fight back or we go under. The "broad" anarchist movement will continue to exist via "Freedom", etc. (and will occasionally unite when "self-confessed" anarchists are the victims of State repression e.g. the Murrays) but will be ineffectual in the spread of libertarian socialist influence.

(cont.)







HOW TO LEARN TO LOVE MEETINGS (MAYBE) by Jeanne

I don't think that I am alone when I state that I often loathe coming to group meetings. I have left so many feeling totally scunnered because of all the "bad vibes" when an item has gone unresolved again or the meeting has gone on for a long time and I feel nothing has been done.

I am not an expert at meetings but I would like to make a few observations and suggestions that might make our meetings less of a nightmare.

(1) Do we really have to have these group meetings once a week? It is very demanding on your time to have to turn up every single week, especially when it seems like we are talking about the same damn things all the time. Hopefully with the membership getting sorted and the centre volunteers dealing with the day-to-day running of the premises and perhaps other groups taking on responsibility for stuff like finance and fund-raising and whatever else we are into then it would only be necessary for us all as The Glasgow Anarchist Group to meet en masse once a month or two months or something.

(2) Coming from that, we need to learn to trust each other. By that I mean I don't think it is totally necessary for everyone to rubber stamp every single thing at a meeting e.g. the group responsible for conferences should be able to write or phone for details of a future event and then bring that along to a big meeting but would obviously not book places and pay for them without checking. Mind you, I would hope that they would go to the money group first and find out if we had any money in the first place. Can you see what I am getting at though? To me the group at the moment is like a huge lumbering monster that just sits and groans once a week when it could be lots of smaller monsters off doing lots of monstervy things.

(3) I also believe that we need to start having a wee bit of the D word. Yes, DISCIPLINE! Not in the sense of like lots of rules and regulations of course. The word discipline comes from the Latin for teaching by the way. What I mean is that when we say we are going to do something we should do it or else discuss why not. I am referring particularly to the fact that I was duped into coming back to the group because I was told that meetings started at 7.30 pm on the dot and that there was an agenda that was closed at the start of the meeting. I have been to meetings since that don't begin til going to 8 and have huge agendas of up to 20 items that are then added to by latecomers. Can I suggest that meetings begin at a specific time and no later. It is not fair on folk who are on time to wait while others saunter in. Also that we have an agenda that is closed at the start of a meeting. It is bollocks that people who wander in whenever can add to the agenda and hold up the meeting while they do so. Can I put this forward as a sample agenda?

1. Apologies and other comments. (like somebody is ill or is going to be late)

2. Matters arising from previous meeting's minutes.

CONTINUES →



3. Correspondence (ideally this should be done by someone beforehand and only be items of relevance or interest to the group meeting that time. Other items should have been passed on)

4. Announcements - items of interest that don't need discussion

The next item on the agenda should be the big important one that everyone has come along to discuss. Hopefully if there was a paper to read folk will have done that before the discussion begins. If there are a couple of big items they should be set a time limit because obviously if there is no decision after a while then the subject needs further examination and someone should propose that the item be put to a group of people to look at and we have a special meeting soon after to discuss it again. Also if there are loads of items that are "big" then unless there has been a complete collapse of the state and international capitalism then something is far wrong for them all to come up at once.

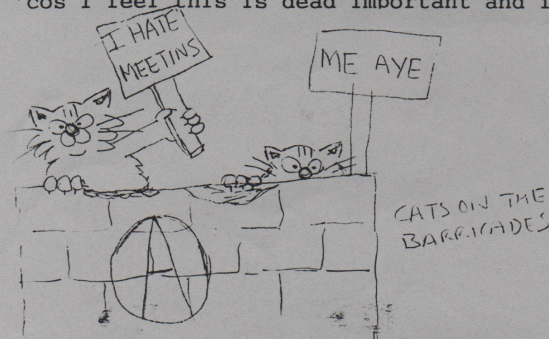
The last item on the agenda should be Any Other Business. This could be short items that can be dealt with quickly and simply and also the ideal opportunity for any latecomers to raise their point that could not go on as an item.

(4) We should have a different chair and minute taker every week. If folk won't volunteer then we should have a rota. I suggest we have a spare chair so that if the chair wants to speak then someone else is noting who wants to speak next and keeping the meeting going.

(5) The ~~minutes~~<sup>agenda</sup> should be quickly written down and a copy given to everyone before the meeting starts. Then folk will know where we are and what we are talking about.

(6) It might be helpful for folk to note down on their agenda what they want to say if they have indicated to the chair that they wish to speak. This would do away with the really self-indulgent habit of saying "I agree with what X said ..." and then repeating what they did say and also "I have forgotten what I was going to say". I respect that there are people who are quite happy to sit and say nowt or who don't like to speak out at meetings and we can't make them. I suggest however that we don't let the same people hog the discussion by the chair asking if anyone else wants to come in before someone speaks for the second or third time.

Well that's it. Let's not discuss this tonight but take this home and read it a couple of times. Maybe we can talk about it at the next meeting IN A COUPLE OF WEEKS. But please don't take it home and use it to write your messages on or make a paper plane out of 'cos I feel this is dead important and it does need to be sorted.





# THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP,

Freedom (25th March 1995) printed two reports. The one an account of the restablishing of the Northern Network. The other the Aims and Principles of Glasgow Anarchist Group. In a sense both articles complement each other. Might I as an older and more experienced anarchist make a few comments. What is important is progression not rigidity.

In the report on the Northern Network re-start meeting the writer described how four sets of ideas gradually emerged in the discussion (and pardon me if for brevity's sake I do not use quotation marks). Each set was related to specific groups or tendencies and each appeared to have their own agenda. Some wanted the Northern Anarchist Network to link up to help re-establish an Anarchist Federation of Britain. Some wanted to form an organisation of overly-dogmatic class struggle anarchists. Others to clearly define the Network's aims and principles whilst others again were quite happy to leave the matter unspecified to allow the participation of the greatest number of people.

In the event although there were major differences between participants it was pointed out that as they were covering a very wide geographical area what was important was that the network act as a point of contact and co-operation between smaller networks and a forum for groups and individuals to become aware of each other's activities. In other words a compromise was reached which enabled comrades to go away, pursue their own ends and co-operate as it interested them. Honour was satisfied.

However before I look at Glasgow Anarchist Group's statement a short story. Whilst living in Birmingham in the sixties, besides being active in the Anarchist Group, which I formed, I was also active in the Peace Movement including the nuclear disarmament movement, campaigned in respect



of the war in Vietnam, anti-racism, anti-apartheid, homeless hostels and many other issues. On one of the local demonstrations I met a young woman from Manchester, Bronwen Lee, who it turned out had become an anarchist. I met her on many subsequent occasions and no I'm not romanticising, we did not live happily ever after, it was not that kind of relationship, she was simply a woman comrade. But what she said was she despaired of Manchester Anarchist Group ever achieving anything because they were so dogmatic and intolerant. I had good contacts with Manchester group and was puzzled why they had not reached some form of rapprochement with someone who was obviously very keen. I remember the then Secretary, Ian Smith, commenting: "Well nobody fancied her" as if this was a significant ideological comment.

Bronwen was not local, she was a southerner from High Wycombe (her father was one of the designers of those interesting London transport posters which are now all the rage in some circles) and she was not a manual worker. She was a student on a librarianship course. And active in the Peace Movement: pacifism, vegetarianism and environmental issues as well as anarchism and an early member of women's liberation. I kept in touch with her for the next twenty years. After qualifying she moved to London becoming a local librarian and as such got her library to order a lot of books on anarchism and libertarian subjects and of course participated fully in anarchist and peace movement activities but eventually, on her own, hitch hiked to Australia via Europe, the Middle East, India and Malaysia. She eventually settled down in Alice Springs and became a noted potter. She is now happily married, has a family and lives in Africa. Some small achievement. I never heard of any of the Manchester anarchists achieving anything although some of them went to an



anarchist camp in the south of France a couple of times where they made their mark by both their dogmatic intolerance and, on one occasion, their insistence that the women there should share themselves around more, as a duty to the movement, instead of indicating personal preferences.

Having read the Aims and Principles of Glasgow Anarchist Group it occurs to me to wonder whether anyone similar to Bronwen might be attracted either to anarchism or Glasgow AG? I have my doubts. In fact the so-called aims and principles do not read like anarchism at all but syndicalism, and a kind of archaic syndicalism which is at least half a century out of date.

The first point concentrates on what Glasgow AG wants to destroy, they then talk about an imagined form of industry that has largely disappeared "embracing all workers: skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled" (it reads like an early O level Sociology textbook.) What about white collar workers? And as the manual workers they are talking about were essentially men, what about women workers? Most anarchists of my acquaintance are white collar workers in what we sociologists now call The Service Class. Lets face it the skilled worker has almost entirely disappeared (seen any apprenticeships advertised recently?) Unskilled work has been largely automated and the one working sector, the semi-skilled, is largely female and much of it part-time. I havent been to Glasgow for aeons but I guess the shipyards and other centres of manual work long since disappeared. Glasgow's biggest growth industry is tourism. And I bet its main trade union activity is public sector with women as the main activists.

What Glasgow's Aims and Principles should have said first is what kind of society you want to achieve. What living it it will be like and why it will be more attractive than existing society. Next how you were going to



get it and to what degree you are going to operate within and co-operate with existing structures to bring it about or what alternative proposals you have to offer. And the Aims and Principles should be women-oriented. After all there are more of them and they live longer.

All this stuff about syndicalist structures within large industry is out of date. And although they do not specify it these Aims and Principles are appallingly male chauvenist. Do not the families or consumers get a look in at the decision taking? Most industry today is consumer-led or it goes bankrupt and even in an anarchist society production for use relates to consumer demand not producer imposition. Next it talks about how Glasgow AG is going to give reactive support to various disputes.

It reminds me of those people in the past who having arrived late to Vietnam War campaign against our American cousins, whom we and the protest movement in America just might have influenced and probably did because the American forces pulled out of the Vietnam War, which was our aim, but these newcomers to the campaign having done very little of practical value wanted to have great debates and pass motions on getting us to support the communist-sponsored NLF and North Vietnam (hells bells we were anarchists!) I would not have minded if they were talking about forming an international brigade to go to Vietnam but all they wanted us to do was pass motions. These time wasters had nothing of practical value to offer. In this I include groups like the so-called Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists who would not know what a revolution was if it spat them in the eye.

The rest of the Glasgow document consists of negating, desiring, opposing and pious platitudes. A Social general strike? I ask you? When so many of us are unemployed. I suppose it means refusing income support. And no doubt some so-called class anarchist - you know the ex-



Marxists who have drifted into the anarchist movement because they had nowhere else to go, the ones who think they own the working class tarrar, tarrar, will again accuse me of racism if I add a word of caution about free movement of peoples? Do you want Islamic fundamentalist neighbours telling you what to do and killing you if you refuse? This society we live in is not, yet, an anarchist society. It is very complex and we should avoid making too sweeping statements about ideal policy but make judgements on evidence. If you tell people on a largely white housing estate that you want the free movement of peoples without doing the anti-racist groundwork and working in the anarchist propaganda it will drive them straight into the arms of the National Front. But one thing I do agree with, I too feel the exploitation of all creatures is wrong. I like my meat red.

I know it is hard deciding what you are going to do and how you are going to do it but the trouble with this document is it is, to put it in technical terms, a load of dogmatic waffle, which will alienate more people than it will convince. Mind you if your aim is to attract, ex-Marxists or still-Marxists looking for a home, you might have some success. But the only thing that attracts me about Glasgow Anarchist Group's Aims and Principles is the ultimate comment "DIVERSITY IS OUR STRENGTH NOT OUR WEAKNESS." Did the person who wrote this read what was written above? Mind you I have been active in the anarchist movement for over thirty-five years now and never needed sets of aims and principles to get me going. I have a head and a heart and can distinguish good from evil and do what I believe to be right. What else do I need?

"Ah" the dogmatists say "unless you support our aims and principles we will not work with you". Well when did you ever? You are not at the



moment. And I do not see much chance of it the future. Frankly I would prefer you not to get in the way of significant anarchist activity.

Why do you not go and have a nice conference where you can occupy your life in the syndicalists' heaven, passing motions all day and inventing unreal organisational structures related to nineteenth century conceptions of industry. Of course if you want to achieve an anarchist society thats different. But if you still need a set of, to me, totally unnecessary aims and principles its back to the drawing board I am afraid. If what you have produced does not convince me is it going to convince any newcomers, especially those with ideas and a knowledge of history and experience in anarchist and other movement activities unclouded with marxist dialectics? Just the people that can take anarchist ideas into the next century.

Peter Neville at 25th March 1995.



## PROPOSALS FOR MEMBERSHIP CLUB AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

1. THE NAME OF THE CLUB WILL BE THE SOLIDARITY CLUB.
2. THE IMMEDIATE AIM OF THE CLUB WILL BE TO SET UP A SOLIDARITY CENTRE.
3. THE LONG-TERM AIM OF THE CLUB WILL BE THE CREATION OF A FREE AND CLASSLESS SOCIETY WITHOUT HIERARCHY. THIS SOCIETY WILL BE BASED ON MUTUAL AID AND VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION WITH PRODUCTION BASED ON NEED NOT PROFIT.
4. RACIST, SEXIST OR HOMOPHOBIC BEHAVIOUR WILL NOT BE TOLERATED WITHIN THE CLUB OR THE CENTRE.
5. THE CLUB WILL BE RUN FOR AND BY WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE. THE CLASS SOCIETY WE LIVE IN IS THE MAJOR CAUSE OF THE PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY THE WORKING-CLASS THE WHOLE WORLD OVER. WE BELIEVE THAT A CLASSLESS SOCIETY CAN ONLY BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE WORKING-CLASS ITSELF AND NOT BY A POLITICAL PARTY OR SOCIAL ELITE ACTING ON ITS BEHALF.
6. DUES WILL BE £1 A WEEK UNWAGED, £ \_\_\_\_\_ WAGED.
7. THE GROUP WILL APPOINT A RECALLABLE MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY FOR LIMITED PERIODS WHOSE DUTIES WILL INCLUDE COLLECTING DUES AND ISSUING MEMBERSHIP CARDS.



## Scottish Federation of Anarchists

PO Box 1008

Glasgow

G42 8AA

### Latha math, companaich

This mailout contains the agenda for the next conference of the S.F.A. which is being held in Dundee on Saturday, 4th of February. This meeting is very important as it will discuss many of the activities which we hope to do in the forth coming year, such as campaigns, our approach to the anti-C.J.A. struggle. In addition to these particle tasks, the aims and principles of the S.F.A. are going to be discussed and decided upon. Included in this mailout are the two drafts, one by Mike in Edinburgh and the other by Iain in Glasgow. Please read these and come along with suggestions on which one is best as well as any changes that could be made to improve them. If you decide to attend either contact comrades in Edinburgh (031- 557 0427) or in Glasgow (041 - 427 6398) for details.

Hopefully this conference will see the S.F.A. have more of an unique identity as well as be able to take part and influence popular struggles towards a freer society. In addition, there are two demos coming up in Edinburgh about the centre which are \*very\* important. See below for details.

One last point, articles, reviews, shorts, etc for issue two of "Scottish Anarchist" should be sent to the above address as soon as possible. The new issue of S.A. is due out in the spring and unless we get copy then it will be delayed. After the very favourable response for the first one, it would be a shame if the second issue was late in coming out.

That's all for now, hopefully see you in Dundee.

Iain

### Agenda for SFA meeting, 4/2/95

12.00 - 1.00 pm Anti-Criminal Justice Act campaign

1.00 - 1.30 pm Lunch

1.30 - 2.00 pm Speaking Tour

2.00 - 2.45 pm Anti-Debt Campaign

2.45 - 3.30 pm Prisoners in Conflict

3.30 - 4.15 pm Magazine and Newsheets

4.15 - 5.00 pm Aims and Principles

### Future Demos

Wednesday, 1st February, 10 am, Council Chambers, Parliament Square, Edinburgh in solidarity with the recently evicted centre. For details contact 031- 557 0427 (the centre's temporary telephone number) if you're interested in coming.

Tuesday, 14th February, 9.30 am, Sheriff Court, Chambers St., Edinburgh in solidarity with those arrested during the eviction of the Edinburgh Centre last December. Give a Valentine message to those who are in court.

Saturday, 25th of February, illegal anti-criminal justice act march in Glasgow organised by the Alliance against the CJA.



Response to Aims and Principles circulated by Robert Lynn Summer 1994

# The Principles

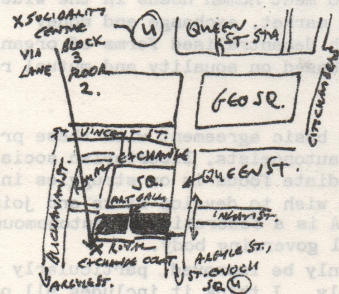
The logic behind the creation of the SFA is primarily to combine and communicate with like minded comrades (to bolster numbers).

- (1) To identify and act in unison on class issues.
- (2) To promote anarchy as the only way to human emancipation.
- (3) To use our experience of struggle in whatever form to broaden support for our ideas.
- (4) To introduce to current alienated sections of our class the confidence and ability to resist and finally attack exploitation.
- (5) To use every means at our disposal as a federation to achieve the above.

Why must we continually bog ourselves down with SPECIFICS, with detailed theory or rules, when we have the ability and conviction to initiate, in this current political and social climate, our objective ? In the past anarchist initiative has taken a back seat to the more "dominant" (numerically) lefty groups. We are seen as stragglers at demos and marches or condemned not only by the media but also the lefty groups as "THE TROUBLEMAKERS". Well if we are proud of our ideas, why should we not be pressing forward with determination and strength of conviction at meetings, marches, etc.

Suggestion for aims and principles from Andy Duncan

sketch of city centre/ Solidarity Centre venue.



Sat. 5th Nov.  
City Centre Demo  
to Defy Criminal  
Justice Bill/Act.  
Expected 12 noon  
Glenvale George Sq. N



SCOTTISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

SUGGESTED AIMS AND PRINCIPLES.....Mike (Edinburgh)

The purpose of the SFA is to encourage and assist effective resistance to all forms of oppression. Our aim is for this resistance to develop into a revolutionary transformation and the creation of a classless co-operative world community.

Society today is based on

- the ownership and control of the planet's resources by a rich powerful elite, the ruling class
- the production of goods and services for sale at a profit and the accumulation of capital by the ruling class
- the existence of repressive state apparatuses to protect the elite
- the institutionalised domination of men over women, and restrictive 'sex roles' which repress both women and men
- the imperialist domination of the major powers and multinationals, with consequent systematic racism

This capitalist and patriarchal system fosters nationalist bigotry, causes wars and immense ecological destruction, and perpetuates discrimination, and hierarchic and authoritarian relationships throughout all areas of society.

Meaningful change can only result from the struggles of the vast majority who are dispossessed and excluded from ownership and control of resources. In industrially "advanced" countries like Scotland this is the working class or proletariat, which we understand to include white collar workers, women and men doing "domestic" work at home, the unemployed and other claimants, etc., as well as blue collar workers.

We are involved in struggles against exploitation, racism, sexism, ecological destruction and other injustices, in the community, at workplaces, in the educational system and elsewhere.

We aim to encourage tendencies in this resistance towards

- self-organisation and egalitarianism, rather than dependence on and control by leaders
- collective direct action, rather than ineffectual 'constitutional' protest
- the generalisation and coming together of struggles, rather than their separation into different 'single issue' campaigns
- the challenging of fundamental aspects of capitalism, rather than tinkering with minor changes
- revolution, not reformism

We want this resistance to develop to the stage where the dispossessed majority will take over the workplaces, land and society's resources in a revolution which will overthrow all governments and authorities, including the 'would-be' rulers of the left wing parties. Our goal is the creation of a global community where

- the world's resources are held in common and shared
- goods and services will be produced directly to meet human needs in the widest sense : this will involve the abolition of the market, exchange and money
- all have an equal say in decisionmaking through decentralised forms of organisation
- relationships in all areas of society will be based on equality and mutual respect
- people live in harmony with nature

The SFA welcomes the involvement of all those in basic agreement with these principles whether they describe themselves as anarchists, autonomists, libertarian socialists, communists/marxists or whatever. While our immediate focus is on struggles in Scotland, we are committed internationalists and wish to develop links and joint activity with revolutionaries world-wide. The SFA is a federation of autonomous groups and individuals, co-operating without any central governing body.

NOTE This has been done quickly and could certainly be improved, particularly to remove some jargon and express things more clearly. I think it includes all of Dave's suggested 11 points, except 2 & 8 - which are perhaps not really necessary.



PULPING MORE TREES

see 3 below.

Abject apologies have been recieved from Dave Carruthers concerning the lack of a booking at the city halls on the 1st of April. Yes, he made fools of us all - we stood around in the cold for 4 hour .'. But he just phoned in to Bulletin HQ to say that he is sorry - so perhaps we'll spare him at our next round of purges.

## EVENTS

NEXT MEETING AT CITY HALLS )-( Door F Room 8) on WED 6 MAY 8.00  
(we book the room under the name of "Libertarian Socialists" so ask the Janny for that - don't crash in shouting 'smash the state' or 'where are the Anarchists?')

Meetings of smaller groups on particular topics include

- 1 Workshop on a Libertarian approach to involvement in rentstrikes, industrial disputes, and other issues arising within the community - to be organised by Keith Millar
- 2 Meeting to discuss direct action - for tory Party conference at Perth ; CND Faslane Demo, Torness action.
- 3 Meeting to discuss setting up an Anarchist paper for the West of Scotland - being planned by Tomay and others.

No "2 above (Tory/CND) will involve Dundee and Aberdeen groups.

Conference 9 May

CND demo/walk Faslane to Glasgow June 6-7.

Torness direct action week 9 - 17 May particularly weekend 16 - 17 May.

We're sorry that these will all be organised at the next meeting but that seems to be the situation at present. There are many good ideas floating about, but people will have to take an active interest in them if they are to materialise.

6th May

Hope to see you all at the meeting on the 6th where hopefully all the ideas contained herein will gell together.

THE EDITORS OPINION IS FINAL.

# 6 MAY

## GETTING ORGANISED

8.00 City Halls

A



**Minutes of SFA coordination meeting 10/9/94** PRESENT : Mike (Edinburgh), Ian (Glasgow), Zoe (Gl), Brian (Gl), Keith (Gl), Angela (Ed), Lynn (Gl), Cloudberry (Ed), Neil (Ed), Stiff (Gl)

#### REPORT ON MAIN DECISIONS

1. Next Conference on 5th November, was to have been at The Centre, Edinburgh Agenda discussed. To include Aims and Principles of SFA. People should send SFA secretary (c/o Glasgow address) any comments and suggestions before next conference. Other items suggested : Glasgow anti-fascist demo on last Saturday of November with emphasis on the cameras in the streets. Anti-VAT on fuel, Newssheet. Agenda should include discussion on any topical campaigns.
2. McLibels Speaking Tour Good idea to invite McLibel people to come to Scotland and speak. Some time in November would be good (first week suggested). Meetings in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee suggested. Mike will contact them.
3. Signal Workers Strike Mike showed us some leaflets from Transport Workers Network and asked if anyone had contacted signal workers. No one had. Ian suggested that we get some posters to put up and to make contact with pickets. Mike suggested who do a benefit gig for them. "Transport Worker" and "Scottish Anarchist" leaflets can be handed out at Demo in Glasgow on the 17th September. Glasgow people decided to meet prior to demo and take a banner.
4. M77 Motorway The Earth First! Camp in Pollok has met with a fair deal of trouble. It was the general opinion that we should show them support. There is a demo on the 24th of September. Good idea to have a picnic, anarcho-solidarity day at the camp. Date to be arranged. During childrens holidays will be good. Meeting for demo at 10.30, Blytheswood square
5. SFA Magazine Keith gave us update. Glasgow Group agreed to change name to "Scottish Anarchist". It has been delayed but it should be ready by the end of September. There will be a launch at the start of October. It was intimated that there is not enough about the centre, but this was briskly brushed aside by the weesie contingency. PS - Issue 1 of "Scottish Anarchist" is now out from Glasgow Anarchist address.
6. Stiff's Discontent Stiff is disconnected. Idea put forward for an internal bulletin, but cost highlighted as a problem.
7. SFA Newssheet. First Newssheet already produced by Glasgow people. Number 2 to be produced for Pollok march and Centre demo, articles to be done by Edinburgh on the centre and Earth First! campaign against M77. Agreed number 3 would be ready for anti-fascist demo at end of November. This is to be discussed at next conference.
8. Any other business Mike handed out some leaflets against VAT on fuel. People urged to come for Centre Demo on 1st October. Went to the pub.

#### Scottish Federation of Anarchists - conference to coordinate activity.

Saturday 5th November 2pm at **\*\*NEW\*\*** Solidarity Centre, Block 3, 2nd floor, Royal Exchange Court, off Royal Exchange Square/Queen St. (tel messages 427-6398).

For security reasons, doors will be locked after 2.30pm, so we advise that comrades going to the demonstration go there after a break, as a Group. It is important that no disturbance or nuisance is caused eg. stickering!! Otherwise turn up on time (or at break before 4pm) - there may be a bell near the doorway attached to a string if our technical advisor has devised this.

#### Agenda:

1. Criminal Justice Act and defiance, followed by 2. M77 and road actions, and 3. Anti-fascist march and activity. Break for tea/coffee approx 3.45pm
- Followed at 4pm by 1. SFA magazine and newsheets; 2. Assisting SFA contacts outside Edinburgh and Glasgow; 3. Aims & Principles discussion/decision.

We should aim to finish by 5.45pm at the latest. Guy Fawkes bonfires and An anti CJB Bonfire are planned for the evening.

#### **\*\*Other Events\*\***

Friday 28th October 7.30pm Larkfield Centre, off Cathcart Rd., Govanhill. Benefit/Social for Sou' Siders Against the CJB with Trout, James Kelman, Sarah McPherson and Rab Fulton. £1 on Door. Bring own drink.

Thursday 10th November Earth First Demo Against M77 and Forth Road Bridges plan t the Scottish Office, Edinburgh. Glasgow - book a seat for £3.50 return. Phone Lyndsey /Earth First Office at 331-2473. Bus to leave 8.30pm Georg Sq.. -50 seater coach.

Annual Anti-fascist demo (first after Cameras throughout City Centre) Sat 26th Nov.



Draft Scottish Federation of Anarchists Statement (by Iain, Glasgow)

Anarchism comes from our needs and desires for freedom, equality and solidarity. It is the means by which the working class can win the class war.

Anarchists think that the problems that afflict humanity and the planet are caused by the social system we live under and its inequalities. These ills, and the system which creates them, are not only harmful but unnecessary. Society can be organised in a better way, a way that meets the needs of all and the environment but gives privileges to none.

We want justice and equality to be achieved in all human relationships. Therefore we fight to abolish all institutions and relationships which create inequality and oppression. These include the state, bureaucracy, the wages system, capitalism, private property, sexism, racism and all forms of hierarchy.

Under capitalism, a minority owns and controls social wealth and the means to create it. This results in power and privilege for the few, alienation and injustice for the rest. State ownership (nationalisation) does not change this. Instead, we want society to own the means of life and for those who use them to run them to meet their needs and the needs of all, not for profit or to benefit a minority. This is workers control, the basis of real socialism.

Socialism can only be built and run from below, by and for everyone. No political party acting or seizing power on our behalf can do it for us. It can never come through Parliament or any other state. States are organised to defend privilege. Also, by their structure and workings, they create a bureaucracy with its own interests, power and privileges. They can never be used to abolish inequality and injustice.

Anarchism does not place power into the hands of a new ruling elite. A truly revolutionary movement must prefigure the new society we hope for. Therefore, anarchism is based on free federations of autonomous groups, directly controlled from the bottom up by their members. These federations only coordinate the decisions made at the base. Hence self-management replaces government. This decentralisation ensures that we take control of our own fates, without leaders and led. Socialism without this can only lead to slavery.

We reject the dead end of electioneering. We must instead organise and fight where we have real power, in our workplaces and communities. From there we can impose by direct action that which politicians can never realise in Parliament or the City Chambers. Only this can create the spirit of revolt needed to resist oppression and get improvements in the here and now, as well as creating a new world.

This new world is not for the distant future. It exists now, in our hearts. By organising federally, using direct action and showing solidarity we create the ideas and structures of this new world within the present one. Only this will allow us to organise as a class and takeover our workplaces and communities, so winning the class war. Without this takeover we will struggle within capitalism but never replace it and the state.

We are not only fighting for a free Scotland, but a free world. All working class people across the globe face similar problems caused by the same system. Capitalism is organised internationally, so must we to fight it effectively.

Solidarity is Strength!

**Note from SFA Secretary c/o POB 1008 G42 8AA.**

In the rest of this fun packed mailout you will find the minutes of an SFA meeting held on the 9th of September, a report on what is happening with the Centre in Edinburgh and suggestions for SFA aims and principles. These aims and principles will be discussed at the next conference, so if you have any suggestions/comments send them to me as soon as possible. In addition to "Scottish Anarchist" there is a new issue of Counter Information out (available from CI, c/o 11 Forth St., Edinburgh, EH1 - individual and multiple copies). There will be a "Black Block" on the anti-fascist/ anti-racist march in Glasgow, on November 26th, leaving Blytheswood Square at 11am. Look out for the Black and Red flags! That's all from me. See you at the next conference or demo. i gaol agus sith.

Iain

The Expected time for the Defy the Criminal Justice Act Demo is 12 Noon at George Sq (beginning and end) Sat 5th Nov.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Proposed set of Aims & Principles for the Scottish Federation of Anarchists

"ANARCHY" <sup>MEANS</sup> ~~comes from the Greek "an-archos"~~ <sup>PEOPLE</sup> no government. It means ~~human-being~~ getting along together without the state. Anarchists ~~are people who think this~~ would be a good thing and want to help to make it a reality.

Anarchy does not mean a condition of competing governments and would-be governments such as we have seen in Beirut, Bosnia, and Belfast. The one thing those places have certainly never experienced is the absence of government!

CLASS

Present day society is based on the class system. So long as we have class divisions we will have government, and so long as we have government we will have class divisions.

Class rule inevitably leads to conflict. Sometimes the class war erupts in major battles, at other times it appears deceptively quiet. But it is always there.

For at least half a century now there have been people telling us the class struggle is old fashioned. We take the view that, on the contrary, it is such half-baked "ideas" which are regularly shown by history to be irrelevant.

The class war can only be ended by the victory of the working class. This does not mean a political party taking power "on behalf of the working class" - history has proved anarchist predictions of where that would lead to be correct.

STRUGGLE

We, the working class, must act for ourselves. We must smash the power of the state in order to end exploitation. Our method of struggle is direct action.

There are some people who share these ends, who for one reason or another choose not to call themselves "anarchist". We in the SFA welcome the closest co-operation with such people.

On the other hand there are <sup>SOME CONFUSED</sup> people who ~~confusedly~~ do call themselves anarchist but don't share these ends. Obviously any co-operation with them is likely to be more limited.

ORGANISATION

Anarchists reject bureaucracy, hierarchy, and centralisation; believing in organising ourselves in a way that is consistent with the kind of society we want to achieve.

We in the Scottish Federation of Anarchists find it useful to organise on a Scotland-wide basis because Scotland is recognisable as a fairly homogenous geographical unit.

However, we are internationalists. We believe in co-operating with our fellow anarchists in neighbouring countries and throughout the world. There can be no such thing as anarchy in one country. World revolution is necessary.

That's what the SFA is about. If our ideas interest you - we'd like to hear from you!



# Great News !

The Glasgow Anarchist group have secured premises to be known as the **Solidarity Centre** at Block 3, 2nd floor, Royal Exchange Court off Royal Exchange Sq (site of old Stirling Library) and Queen St., down from George Sq.. Across road up lane off junction with Ingram St.

First meetings: Every Friday afternoon from **28th Oct.**, joinery/moving in repairs, start of library/reading room and literature stall.

Every Monday evening incl. **31st Oct.** from 8pm, 'propaganda' group to draw up leaflets, discuss involvement in struggles, SFA newsheets/magazine.

Open Night to view premises, from 7pm, Thursday **3rd November**. Forum to decide uses of the space. Tea/Coffee available & soft toys for kids. Positive proposals welcome !

Questionnaire to bring along or post on to PO Box, 1008, G42 8AA.

**Which of the following activities would interest you ?**

Bookstall/ distribution of literature / reading room etc..\_\_\_\_\_

Credit Union\_\_\_\_\_

Food Co-op\_\_\_\_\_

Supporting Prisoners and other solidarity work\_\_\_\_\_

Skills Exchange - printing, use of computers, etc..\_\_\_\_\_

Self-defence (please note space not huge!)\_\_\_\_\_

Action against State benefit cutbacks / claimants union\_\_\_\_\_

discussion groupswriters circles\_\_\_\_\_

Other Suggestions\_\_\_\_\_

The premises costs start at £150 a month and we will need help towards this and the various costs of political activity.....

**Can you afford a Regular Donation ?** \_\_\_\_\_

**Can you take part or run Fund Raising Activities ?** \_\_\_\_\_

Various comrades have already donated books,kettle, wood, tools etc.. Do you have any of the following:- anarchist/libertarian books/publications for library; Stationary; heaters; hoover, and other practical needs.

We need to put past disappointments/ disagreements behind us,, especially after the brilliant illegal demo of 18th October. We need practical help to set this Centre up - even if the space might not be ideal -we can use it as a stepping stone for the future.

*For the moment, only call at Centre at agreed times - never call it 'Anarchist' etc, don't sticker the immediate area -let's not shit on our own nest ! We hope to get a phone, staff the Centre, hold a General Group Meeting etc.. - help out !*



## SCOTTISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS (SFA)

### Scotland-wide mobilisation to stop eviction of The Centre

Lothian Regional Council have issued a court summons to enforce the eviction of The Centre in Edinburgh. The court date is 16 September and 2 weeks later the sheriff officers can legally enforce the court decree by breaking into the Centre and, with the aid of the police, evicting the occupants. The Centre is preparing to resist this eviction. The SFA has already agreed that in the event of such a threat to Scotland's only self-managed oppositional centre, we will mobilise on a Scotland-wide basis to give practical solidarity.

#### **The Centre stays open - Mobilisation and demo The week-end Friday 30 Sept. - Monday 3 October**

People are invited to stay at the Centre for the whole weekend if possible, to maximise the number of resisters to any eviction attempt.

#### **Saturday 1st October**

March through the Broughton area in the afternoon (provisionally assemble 2pm Barony St., off Broughton St. near the Centre)  
Followed by an afternoon of activities at the Centre, with a major social event in the evening.

We hope that all SFA supporters will attend on the Saturday, and urge people to stay for the weekend if at all possible. Bring a sleeping bag! (anyone able to stay into the next week will be made very welcome) More details as plans develop from:

The Centre, 103 Broughton Street, Edinburgh EH1. 031 557 0718.

### **Scottish Federation of Anarchists contingent on Scottish demo against the Criminal Justice Bill**

**11am Sat. 10 September Waterloo Place (east end Princes St.), Edinburgh.**

(demo organised by Coalition against the Criminal Justice Bill - 031 554 9209)

We plan to have an organised presence on this demo to spread the message that there must be mass defiance of the law to make it unworkable. Posters and leaflets to distribute are under preparation by the Glasgow group - info 041 427 6398.

## SCOTTISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS (SFA)

### CONFERENCE 6 AUGUST 1994

#### REPORT OF MAIN DECISIONS

Held at The Centre, Edinburgh. Participants from Edinburgh (approx 14), Glasgow (approx.9), Dundee (2), Central Region (2), and Texas 1

#### **THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL**

A speaker from the Edinburgh Network against the Bill outlined its implications. It is clear that this bill is not only an assault on certain groups such as hunt sabs, travellers, rave attenders and squatters, but an attack on all direct action and unauthorised demonstrations (aggravated trespass and exclusion zones round demos) and on everyone's civil rights (new stop and search powers, attack on the right to silence).

It was generally agreed:

That the main strategy should be to make the Act unworkable through mass defiance and direct action. It was obviously going to get passed (probably by October), it was no good relying on MPs to vote it out, we had to prepare now to resist and make it impossible to actually implement it (as with the Poll Tax).

That a leaflet and poster should be produced putting across this message. Alan and others from Glasgow to do.

That we should have an organised presence (black bloc) at any upcoming demos etc in Scotland against the CJB and distribute the leaflets and posters.

That, equally importantly, we should realise the class nature of this legislation and target propaganda at people attending court, in run down council schemes etc where working class people were already criminalised. CONT. OVERLEAF



That we should watch out for flashpoints where the state could use the new legislation against social struggles. An example is the resistance to the new Ayr road near Pollok in Glasgow. An anti roads camp is blocking the path of this anti social development, and there is some involvement in the struggle from the Pollok council scheme.

That we should mobilise on a Scotland wide basis for any major battle in the Ayr road struggle (could be in October or November).

That we should investigate the possibility of a rave/mass trespass against the CJ Bill near a city centre.

## UNWAGED AND WAGED STRUGGLES

Andy from Dundee introduced this discussion, drawing on experiences of the Timex struggle and activities aimed at unwaged people in Dundee. It is impossible to do justice to this in such a short space, but a few of the main points raised were :

Leafletting dole offices in the Timex strike worked well - only about 2 people from Dundee scabbed.

The left wing parties (SWP, Militant etc) covered for the anti strike actions by the STUC and Union leaders in the Timex strike.

It is necessary to encourage workers to act autonomously.

Anarchists should have pushed our views forward more in the strike - we should learn this lesson for the future.

Opposition to loan sharks in Dundee was successful for a while. Single parents can be contacted by leafletting Post

Offices on the day they cash their books.

However all such activity needs to be maintained over a long period to be really effective.

The Centre's leaflet DOLE HARASSMENT EXPOSED has been successful - naming names of officials who harass claimants.

Alan and others on Training for Work / ET type schemes are going to investigate producing a similar leaflet, and forming a group, for scheme workers in Glasgow.

A Centre, as exists in Edinburgh, is important for bringing people together. Efforts are underway to establish similar centres in Glasgow (an anarchist centre) and Dundee (an independent unemployed centre). An unemployed centre could get funding through collections at local workplaces.

Dundee Class War have successfully leafleted school students - leaflet examples should be enclosed with this report.

## THE SCOTTISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

NAME : By a majority vote (8-6 I think) The Scottish Federation of Anarchists (SFA) was preferred as the name to The Scottish Federation of Anarchists and Autonomists.

SECRETARY : Ian from Glasgow was elected secretary of the SFA. He should be sent all addresses to be mailed to and material to be sent out (address below).

PUBLICATION The Glasgow Anarchist Review should become the Scottish Anarchist review. The first issue of this mag is currently being put together in Glasgow.

Future issues will be produced in the following way : (1) An initial meeting involving participants from all round Scotland (probably coinciding with a conference). (2) A working group based in 1 city/area will put the mag together (hopefully this responsibility will be rotated) (3) A final editorial meeting will involve participants Scotland-wide. A lively debate on the extent to which the editorial group could take an active role in changing/ refusing to publish contributions produced differing views! It was agreed that a viewpoint which was controversial/ disagreed with by the editorial group could often be included as a letter - as an alternative to including it as an article or not publishing it at all.

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE SFA To be discussed at the next conference. Suggestions to the secretary. Dave senr. from Dundee has already sent a proposed Aims and Principles. The question of whether or not to have formal membership was deferred till the next conference.

SPEAKING TOURS We will co-operate in organising speaking tours, with public meetings taking place in Edinburgh, Dundee, Glasgow, and hopefully other areas eg Falkirk, Aberdeen. Mike(Edinburgh) to investigate speakers from the McLibel Defence Campaign and Alan (Glasgow) speaker from Anarchist Black Cross in USA.

NEXT CONFERENCE - This was provisionally agreed for Sat 8 October at the Centre, Edinburgh. However this has been overtaken by the eviction attempt against the Centre and the consequent mobilisation for the previous weekend. It may be possible to have a brief SFA get together on the afternoon of Sat. 1st October at the Centre. Contact the Secretary with your proposals for a date for the next full conference and for the agenda.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS : WRITE PO Box 1008, Glasgow G42 8AA and mark envelope For attention of SFA secretary.  
SFA CONTACT NOS. Glasgow 041 427 6398. Edinburgh 031 557 0718 (Mike, Neil, Eddie, Cloudberry, Morag, Em). Dundee 0382 816875.



**SCOTTISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS GET-TOGETHER**  
**SAT 15 JULY 12.30PM - 5PM IN THE ST STEPHEN CENTRE CAFE,**  
**ST STEPHEN ST., STOCKBRIDGE, EDINBURGH**

The Tory government are in disarray, "New" Labour are completely discredited in the eyes of all who want real change, the SNP are just alternative bosses and have failed to capture the imagination. Significant numbers in Scotland continue to participate in events called in defiance of the Criminal Justice Act, while despite a media black-out locals are still taking direct action to sabotage the building of the M77 in south Glasgow. Resentment simmers in the health service, exploded in the post office in early May, while in 1 or 2 workplaces such as Godfreys in Dundee the ideas of workers controlled direct action are being put into practice. It's not a situation of widespread revolt, but real resistance does exist.

As part of this resistance there have been many positive developments in the anarchist movement in Scotland - the widespread distribution of the Scottish Anarchist news-sheets and magazine, our involvement in practical opposition to the M77 and the CJA, the activity of the Edinburgh Centre and now the new Solidarity Centre in Glasgow, the successful McLibel speaking tour to Dundee, Glasgow and Edinburgh, among other activities. Class struggle anarchists in Scotland are now in a stronger position than for several years.

This is an important meeting to help co-ordinate our activity for the coming months. People have already confirmed they are coming from Glasgow, Dundee and Edinburgh and we hope to greet comrades from Aberdeen, Arbroath, the Falkirk and Stirling areas and elsewhere. We believe that getting together on a Scotland wide basis is really useful, both the actual meeting and the informal socialising and getting to know each other. We hope to see you on the 15th.

**PROVISIONAL AGENDA (additions & suggested changes welcome)**

12.30pm refreshments and preparations

1pm Electing/press-ganging chairs and minute takers, Introductions and finalising agenda

**1.15pm. STRUGGLES WE'RE INVOLVED IN**

What's happening and what we want to do

The following are listed as possible discussions, but we won't be able to cover all of them unless we break up into workshops. Please let us know what topics you're interested in and your views for or against workshops.

**ANTI ROADS AND ANTI CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT**

Pollok and the M77. The M74. Community action. Critical Mass.

Defiance of the CJA. Linking with social struggles. Mass squat of a Centre?

**PRISONERS**

Scottish situation - publication involving prisoners John Bowden and John Perotti (info from Andy, Dundee)

Mumia Abu Jamal - black american activist sentenced to die on 17 August

John Perotti - prison organiser, due to start a hunger strike in May - latest news

**CLAIMANTS STRUGGLES**

Creating a "counter power" presence at benefit offices eg through regular leafleting of the Dole Harrasment

Exposed type news-sheets done in Edinburgh

Job Seekers Allowance, Invalidity, Child Support Act, single parents, snoopers

Britain-wide co-ordination, Oxford Groundswell conference 29 July (Edinburgh centre)

**WORKPLACE STRUGGLES**

Situation at Godfreys textile factories, Dundee (Andy)

unofficial strikes in the post office

The experience of the Industrial Workers of the World organising at Stevenson college, Edinburgh - should we invite them to speak on this?



CENTRES AND THEIR RELATION TO AND ROLE IN RESISTANCE  
The experience of edinburgh and glasgow / international experience

3pm Refreshments and analysis of Partick Thistle's prospects in the Inter Toto Cup

### 3.15pm ORGANISATION

This is where we show an amazed world that anarchy isn't chaos

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST MAG AND EDITORIAL GROUP

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST NEWS-SHEET - DOES IT NEED AN EDITORIAL GROUP TOO? More effective  
distribution. Content. PUBLISH AIMS AND PRINCIPLES as an A3 news-sheet? (mike, edinburgh)

SPEAKING TOURS - The What is Anarchism tour with 3 speakers on @ & feminism, @ & ecology and @ in general.  
The Mexico tour. Bad Attitude tour.

EDINBURGH EUROPEAN CITY OF PUNK 3-14 AUG. - Em (Edinburgh)

FINANCES AND SUPPORT FOR THE CENTRES (Glasgow)

QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP - should there be a formal membership of the SFA and if so how should it be  
organised?

SECRETARY'S REPORT (IAIN, Glasgow) and ELECTION OF NEW SFA SECRETARY

CO-ORDINATING MAILINGS Use of Counter Information mailings to distribute news-sheets, leaflets Britain-wide  
and overseas IMPROVING CO-ORDINATION ON A WEEKLY BASIS

MEDIA WORKSHOP & THE INTERNET AND COMPUTER NETWORKS(Glasgow)

NEXT CONFERENCE

VERY BRIEF GET TOGETHER ON GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS TO DISCUSS FUTURE CO-ORDINATION ? Could be  
especially useful for edinburgh folk

FINISH ABOUT 5PM

SOCIALISING will undoubtedly follow in the evening and we hope comrades from outside Edinburgh can stay on.  
The potentialities of unlicensed pleasure are too numerous to list but possibilities already mooted include a historical  
re-enactment of Partick Thistle's triumphs in the Inter Toto Cup, and drinking, both of which could take place  
(simultaneously if so desired) in the leafy splendour of nearby Inverleith Park.

### DIRECTIONS

The St Stephen Centre is on the junction of St Stephen St and Howe St and is 15 minutes walk from either the St  
Andrews Square Bus station or Waverley train station.

From the bus station, cross St Andrews Square, go along George St., turn right down Frederick St.. From Waverly  
station, go up to Princes St., turn left along Princes St towards the west end, turn right up Frederick St., go straight  
across George St., and down Frederick St..

You will now see the St Stephen Centre at the bottom of the hill, it's the big building with the clock tower. The cafe  
entrance is at the right hand side of the building. It's booked under the name of THE CENTRE.

It's hardly worth getting a bus from the city centre, but if needbe the 20 and 28/29 go very close, you can get them  
from Frederick St..

### AGENDA SUGGESTIONS AND MORE INFO

Write ACE (mike), c/o peace and justice resource centre, St Johns, Princes St., Edinburgh EH2. Or tel 0131 332  
7547 (mike) or 558 3628 (angela).



C L Y D E S I D E      A N A R C H I S T      G R O U P

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c/o Bookshop Collective,  
488 Great Western Road,  
Glasgow, G 12.

7th October, 1983.

Dear Comrade,

A number of important events are planned for the coming week in Glasgow which we hope you will support in whole or in part.

----- Wednesday, 12th October -----

There will be a RALLY in the McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, at 8 pm. Spontaneous buffet! Speakers taking part will include members of the Animal Rights Group, Peace Camp, and the Womens' Movement. The theme will be "REFUSE". It would be useful if comrades could arrive at about 7.30 to rearrange the chairs and have an informal chat about the weeks' events.

----- Thursday, 13th October (unlucky for some!) -----

A serious ACTION is planned against a capitalist "enterprise" which, for security reasons, cannot be revealed publicly. The event is scheduled for noon; it is important, therefore, that we assemble and have a final briefing at 11 am sharp. We will meet at the Glasgow School of Art, S.R.C., 167 Renfrew Street. Because the outfit we plan to disrupt is more than a mile away from the assembly point it is essential that all comrades participating arrive no later than 11 am. No arrests are anticipated.

----- Friday, 14th October -----

We will be holding a DAY SCHOOL at the Glasgow School of Art, S.R.C., 167 Renfrew Street, commencing at 1 pm. The programme will start with the video film "Blue Collar"; then there will be "workshops" on Sexual Politics, The Revolt against Work, Crime and Punishment, and the End of Music. A Soirée will be held afterwards though the venue is yet to be arranged.

----- Saturday, 15th October -----

We have agreed to hold an OPEN AIR MEETING in one of the large estates in or around Glasgow. We need speakers. Meet at Bookshop at 1 pm.

This is an ambitious programme but we feel that it can succeed with the support of anarchists old and new; there is a groundswell among masses of people for our ideas. So, get your finger out. Finally: if ye cannae come - send us the money!

Yours fraternally,

*Brian*



## ORGANISATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE SOLIDARITY FEDERATION: 2ND DRAFT

### 1: What is Revolutionary Unionism?

The ideas and principles of *revolutionary unionism*, also known as *anarcho-syndicalism*, need to be explained briefly before we set out our programme. Mostly we want to correct some wrong ideas about what it means, and to contrast what we really stand for with them, before going into details.

For a start it doesn't mean politically-pure unions composed entirely of revolutionaries, "*red unions*" always trying to be more radical than the present unions, forever demanding the impossible and crying "sell-out". A genuine social revolution can only be made by the working class as a whole, and a real revolutionary organisation must be able to include all class-conscious workers. In addition to this, we are as heartily sick of the "revolutionary left" and their games as most working people. We despise their perpetual courtship of defeat and the relish with which they greet treachery. It is only by winning, and by organising effective action around immediate issues to force concessions from the bosses and the state through our own efforts that workers will rediscover our power, and believe we can use it to change society for good.

A number of features distinguish *revolutionary unionism* from the practice of the existing unions in this country:

- A political commitment to *Direct Action* (that is stopping attacks, or taking what we want, ourselves; not "campaigning" for it, protesting about it, or having union officials or politicians plead on our behalf); and to *Direct Democracy*, collective decision-making and full control of all actions, negotiations and policy-making by the rank and file membership (without professional officials all members are rank and file).

- Refusing to limit our agenda to simple "bread-and-butter" issues like pay and working conditions (although these are crucial, and any union must deliver on these, or become irrelevant and unfocussed). This means fighting today for more pay and better conditions, and against the bosses' attacks, and for *Workers' Self-management* of production and the end of the *Wages System* and bosses tomorrow. (*Self-management* means that workers own and manage the enterprise they work in collectively, using the same kind of democratic methods as *revolutionary unionism*. We think only the workers who do a job know best how to do it efficiently, safely and well. Technical advice is part of the collective knowledge of the working class, not a meal-ticket for "professionals" or "experts". A separate management will always manage in the interests of outsiders, even if it is only themselves, or of politicians who claim to represent the interests of the working class better than we do ourselves. For this reason we say *Self-management*, rather than the better-known, but vaguer "*workers' control*". We are opposed to the *Wages System* because it is the means by which we are paid less than the value of our work, with bosses, shareholders, etc. living off the difference. Instead of this exploitation, we want to create a society based on *Libertarian Communism* - from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs.)

- Refusing to only have a workplace agenda. Much of what affects the working class, although linked back to work through the cash economy and lack of money, acts outside the workplace, or has its origins outside it. We also remember both the unemployed and those whose contribution to society, or to the economy, is not made "at work" in the conventional sense either through lack of recognition (eg domestic labour, child-rearing, caring), force of circumstance (eg home-working, unemployment), or by choice. We do not accept the trades union/political party division embraced by both the *official Labour Movement* and the "revolutionary left", but think a workers' organisation is a vehicle for fighting back and changing things.

What makes *revolutionary unionism* different from both simple trades unionism and left-wing politics is an organisation and a set of ideas in which there is no distinction between self-appointed "leaders" and "followers", but which can be a vehicle for working people to achieve our aspirations for ourselves. Anyone attracted to either the revolutionary goals and ideas or to the organisational principles should recognise that the two are inseparable, and take up both. It is up to all of us to ensure that it will be the vehicle we need.



## 2: Organisational Platform

- All decisions affecting workplace issues are made by **Workers' Assemblies** (regular mass meetings of all workers, called at adequate notice and with a quorum, with the power to make binding decisions and with control over all committees and delegates elected by it), not when union officials or the management need consent to a decision they've already made.

- Everyone has the right to participate in **Workers' Assemblies** who accepts the binding nature of decisions, and takes part in any action. The right to have a say in decisions can not be bought by payment of union dues (nor denied to those who don't, but who meet the above conditions), and class solidarity demands that scabs and management are kept out.

- We think anything won by workers is the result of effective action and solid organisation, or of the credible threat of the former, not of good will on the part of management. At present, any attempt to take effective action has to negotiate the minefield of *anti-union laws*, *victimisation*, and frequently also *hostility from the existing unions*. We believe that the best defence against legal action is to win any dispute as quickly as possible, demonstrating not only that the anti-union laws are useless in the face of well-organised defiance, but also that workers can retaliate against punitive measures, and defend victimised activists.

The main aim of the anti-union laws is to isolate workers and to force us to fight alone, and we need to attack them by giving and demanding *solidarity* between workers, by *picketing* and by *boycotting*. The best form of action to take must be decided by the workers ourselves, based on our knowledge of what will be most effective. As a general rule the action which causes *maximum financial loss in a short period* is the best, there is no point taking ineffective action as a gesture. However, it is important that any campaign of action has maximum involvement from workers affected, and does not divide, demobilise or demoralise people.

- The election of a *workplace convenor*, *Safety Representatives*, and any negotiators, dispute committees or *shop stewards* by the **Workers' Assembly** must be held at least annually, preferably on an *ad hoc* basis wherever practical. All officials must be unpaid, must get enough facility time from the management, and are accountable to and recallable by a quorate **Assembly** convened as swiftly as adequate notice can be given. *Shop stewards* or other delegates don't have the power to negotiate without a mandate, and must get one before negotiating, and get the result approved by the **Workers' Assembly**.

- The *revolutionary union* wants all workers to join, but rejects the passive, "*check-off*" membership of the existing unions. Revolutionary union members must not only pay subscriptions, and do organisational work, but also sell the revolutionary union and its organisational principles and methods to non-members. A revolutionary union also aims to form a *workplace branch* as an active organisation in opposition to passive, consultative bodies like **Works Councils** (these are common on the continent and promoted by the *Maastricht Treaty's Social Chapter* - unions run slates of candidates like in a parliamentary election, and they represent you just like your MP does - *ie* not at all) and to permanent, bureaucratic negotiating bodies; and ideally to recruit all workers so that the *workplace branch* becomes the **Workers' Assembly**.

- Solidarity between workers in the same industry is encouraged on local, regional, national and international levels. This is based on *direct links* between workplace organisations, and on forming *industrial networks* at each level. Organisation beyond each workplace doesn't mean giving up control to a "higher level", either to officials or to lay committees. Revolutionary unionism organises on the basis of **Federalism**, where all co-ordinating bodies are directly elected, and composed of delegates who have a specific mandate from their constituency. Initiative and decision-making power remain with the **Workers' Assembly** or *workplace branch*, which has the ultimate right to withdraw from any body which tries to impose decisions on it. (No-one should hold office on more than one level, *eg* a *workplace convenor* should not also be a *delegate to a local industrial committee*, etc.) The **Solidarity Federation** is already networking on an industrial basis, and aims to form *workplace branches* in order to turn loose *industrial networks* into federalist *industrial unions*.



- A *revolutionary union* does not simply have an industrial structure, but as it aims to organise the *working class as a whole*, it also has local and regional structures. All members should be part of a *Local*, which exists to provide solidarity, support and resources to workers in its area. This serves to provide help and back-up where there are few or no members in a workplace. It works both to recruit workers to the revolutionary union, to defend them in the face of management attacks; to provide experience, support and resources to help with organisation and recruitment; and to seek solidarity from other workers in the area in the case of disputes. *Locals* aim to provide meeting space, information on workplace law, health and safety, company profits, etc., and to make political literature and educational resources available to workers.

- A *Revolutionary Union Local* is also a base for action on a *wider social agenda*, not simply for supporting workplace activity. This means the *revolutionary union* can address all working class issues, wherever and whenever they come up.

### 3: The Wider Social Agenda

Today our lives are defined by work, or by our exclusion from it. In advanced capitalist societies life is split into "work" and "leisure". Cash is what controls us, far more than the threat or use of violence. Our labour is sold cheaply to the boss who owns what we produce (through the *Wages System*). Leisure is supposed to be freedom, but is really what the bosses get us to pay for to relieve the boredom. A *revolutionary union* must end this division, and fight against it in existing society. This means demanding work which is useful, interesting and fulfilling, not organised by parasites for their own advantage, which we'll only get by *workers' control* leading to *Self-management*.

Similarly, we've had enough of the passive consumption for profit which passes for relaxation and recreation. Everyone must have the opportunity to contribute to society if they wish to benefit from it, and get to use their full range of abilities both for the common good and for fun. A decent society means reducing the amount of boring and degrading work through technology and responsible behaviour.

However, we need to define a useful contribution to society. This is not just going to work for the bosses' profits. It is also house work and care work which are not part of the cash economy, but which capitalism relies on - usually through the unpaid and unsung work of women - in order to reproduce its workforce and maintain social stability. Without this work society would collapse, but the bosses won't admit this and pay for it because it would cost them too much. We must make them, but not with *Wages* - we want an end to exploitation, not its expansion.

We also need to organise life to support this work, not to make individuals slaves to it, but to take away the burden and make it a choice. Equally, those who choose to do it must be valued, not taken for granted. Women's (or other carers') lives must be controlled by themselves, not dictated by "society". We think this would undermine sexism, but we shouldn't kid ourselves it couldn't find another basis in a future society.

Discrimination, harassment and violence on the grounds of gender, race, nationality, sexuality, age or "disability" permeate all aspects of society, and won't be stopped by slogans and simple demands. These are oppressive in their own right, not just tools of the bosses which some people think will disappear if different people get power. They aren't just bad because they "divide the working class", either. Mostly discrimination works by deciding what is felt to be important and what gets overlooked, and this goes for revolutionaries as much as bosses. We must make sure that we do not see fighting the bosses at work as the only important thing.

Above all, the revolutionary union is not just about the workplace, but all human life. Much has been made in recent years of the idea of "community", but "communities" are more than just people who live in an area, they have a definite basis where they exist. Many existing "communities" are thoroughly reactionary, and based on discrimination against anyone different. Instead of "community" we need to talk about how people who live in the same area relate to each other. The Government and councils stop us running our own areas by controlling the services we need. We need to link workers' organisation in public services with organisations of local people who can work out what services are



needed and how they need to work.

The fight against the Poll Tax proved that it is possible to organise outside the workplace, and that we have strength if united in a common aim. Anti-Poll Tax groups disappeared with its defeat, however, and we need to build a basis for more permanent organisation. Where we can start is by organising street or estate meetings to discuss issues which affect the areas we live in and what we can do about them. For issues which have a wider impact, local action committees can be organised on a *Federalist* basis. It is only through organising and resisting in this way that we stand a chance of gaining something in common on which to build community

Housing is a problem because it is controlled by those concerned with profit and political advantage. The same thing goes for transport, healthcare, education and childcare. Our environment, food and water are polluted because profits mean more than our lives. Power and control - not seizing power through control of the state, but taking it into our own hands through our own organisations - are the key to solving most of the problems we suffer. *We need genuine revolutionary organisation where we work and where we live to do it. The Solidarity Federation aims to build such organisation, and to establish Direct Democracy.*

#### 4: Interim Demands

- A maximum 35 hour working week, and an end to overtime and anti-social hours, without loss of earnings;
- Full employment rights for part-time and temporary workers, with immediate effect from starting a job;
- An end to bogus "self-employment" and individual contracts, free collective bargaining direct with the real boss;
- An end to wage differentials, equal pay for work of equal value, consolidation of bonuses, overtime, etc. for all;
- A healthy and safe working environment, full access to all relevant information, and the right to stop work without loss of earnings or threats of victimisation until any defects are corrected;
- Useful, fulfilling and interesting work for all;
- The right to hold Workers' Assemblies in working hours without loss of pay, and to adequate facility time to carry out union duties;
- The right to strike or take other forms of industrial action without fear of dismissal, including solidarity action, picketing and boycotts;
- The right to retire at 55 for men and women on full pension;
- The right to a minimum of six weeks' holiday a year with full pay, sick pay at full rates, one year's maternity/paternity leave, and a minimum of two weeks' dependency leave;
- Freedom of association, expression and speech, at work and outside;
- An end to direct and indirect discrimination and harassment on grounds of gender, race, nationality, sexuality, age or "disability";
- Recognition of care work (including bringing up children) and domestic labour as being both socially useful and worthy of full remuneration;
- Decent, affordable and accessible housing, education, healthcare, childcare and transport for all;
- An end to production and agricultural methods which harm the environment, and their replacement by sustainable alternatives;
- Uncontaminated and healthy food, water and air for all.



## AIMS OF THE SOLIDARITY FEDERATION

The Solidarity Federation is an organisation of workers which seeks to destroy capitalism and the state. Capitalism because it exploits, oppresses and kills working people and wrecks the environment for profit worldwide. The state can only maintain hierarchy and privilege for the classes who control it and their servants; it cannot be used to fight the oppression and exploitation that are the consequences of hierarchy and the source of privilege. In their place we want a society based on workers' self-management, solidarity, mutual aid and libertarian communism.

That society can only be achieved by working class organisations based on the same principles - revolutionary unions. These are not Trades Unions only concerned with "bread and butter" issues like pay and conditions. Revolutionary unions are means for working people to organise and fight all the issues - both in the workplace and outside - which arise from our oppression. We recognise that not all oppression is economic, but can be based on gender, race, sexuality, or anything our rulers find useful. Unless we organise in this way, politicians - some claiming to be revolutionary - will be able to exploit us for their own ends.

The Solidarity Federation consists of Industrial Networks and Locals which are the nuclei of future revolutionary unions and centres for working class struggle on a local level. Our activities are based on Direct Action - action by workers ourselves, not through intermediaries like politicians and union officials; our decisions are made through participation of the membership. We welcome all working people who agree with our aims and principles, and who will spread propaganda for social revolution and revolutionary unions. We recognise that the class struggle is worldwide, and are affiliated to the International Workers' Association, whose Principles of Revolutionary Unionism we share.

## THE PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM

1 Revolutionary unionism is based on the class war and holds that all workers must unite in industrial unions that fight for our liberation from the double yoke of capital and the state. Its goal is the reorganisation of society on the basis of libertarian communism, which can only be achieved by the revolutionary action of the working class. Considering that only the industrial unions of the working class are capable of reaching this objective, revolutionary unionism addresses itself to all workers in our capacity as producers, as creators of social wealth, so that it will take root and develop in our class in opposition to the so-called "workers' parties", which it declares incapable of the economic reorganisation of society.

2 Revolutionary unionism is the sworn enemy of all economic and social monopoly. It aims at the abolition of privilege by the establishment of economic communes and administrative bodies run by the workers in the fields, factories and offices, forming a system of free councils without subordination to any power or political party. Revolutionary unionism poses the economic reorganisation of production as an alternative to the politics of states and parties. It is opposed to the government of people by others and poses self-management as an alternative. Consequently, the goal of revolutionary unionism is not the conquest of political power, but the abolition of all state functions in society. Revolutionary unionism considers that the disappearance of the monopoly of property must also be accompanied by the disappearance of all forms of domination. Statism, however camouflaged, can never be an instrument of human liberation and, on the contrary, will always be the creator of new monopolies and privileges, whatever their basis.

3 Revolutionary unionism is opposed to all hierarchies, privileges and oppressions, not simply those which are economic in origin. It recognises that oppression can be based on race, gender, sexuality or any other perceived difference. However, all oppression, whatever its origin, has an economic aspect and is based on a power relationship. It declares liberal concepts of "equality" to be false, and that any attempt to fight discrimination without also attacking hierarchy and privilege based on class will only benefit hitherto excluded sections of privileged classes, and will not end discrimination against those without class privileges.

4 Revolutionary unionism has a twofold function. It carries on the revolutionary struggle in all countries for the economic, social and intellectual improvement of the working class within the limits of present day society. It also seeks our self-education so that we will be able to competently manage the processes of production and distribution through the socialisation of all wealth. Revolutionary unionism does not accept the idea that the organisation of a social system based exclusively on the producing class can be ordered by simple government decrees. It affirms that it can only be obtained through the common action of all manual and intellectual workers, in every branch of industry, by self-management, in such a way that every region, factory or branch of industry is an autonomous part of the economy and systematically regulates, on a determined plan and on the basis of mutual agreement, the production and distribution processes according to the interests of the community, and the needs of the environment.

5 Revolutionary unionism recognises the need for production which does not damage the environment, and which seeks to minimise the use of finite resources, and wherever possible use sustainable alternatives. It identifies the drive for profit, rather than ignorance, as the root of the present environmental crisis. In particular, the world debt crisis and the drive towards cash crop farming at the expense of subsistence propelled by it are responsible for rainforest destruction, famine and disease. The fight to save the planet and the fight to destroy capitalism must go hand in hand or both will fail.

6 Revolutionary unionism is opposed to all organisational tendencies inspired by the centralism of the state and church. These can only prolong the survival of the state and authority, and they systematically stifle the spirit of initiative and any independence of thought. Centralism is the artificial organisation which subjects the so-called lower classes to those who claim to be superior. Centralism leaves the affairs of the whole community in the hands of a few - the individual being turned into a robot with regulated movements and gestures. In the centralised organisation, the needs of society are subordinated to the interests of a few, variety is replaced by uniformity and personal responsibility is replaced by unquestioning obedience. It is for this reason that revolutionary unionism bases its vision of society on a wide federalist organisation, an organisation which works from the bottom to the top by uniting all forces in the defence of common ideas and interests.

7 Revolutionary unionism rejects all parliamentary activity and all collaboration with legislative bodies. It holds that even the freest



voting system cannot bring about the disappearance of the clear contradictions at the centre of present day society. The parliamentary system has only one goal: to lend a pretence of legitimacy to the reign of falsehood and social injustice.

8 Revolutionary unionism rejects all arbitrarily created political and national frontiers and declares that what is called nationalism is the religion of the modern state, behind which are concealed the material interests of the ruling classes. Revolutionary unionism recognises only economic and regional differences and demands for all groups the right to self-determination without exception.

9 It is for these reasons that revolutionary unionism fights against militarism and war. Revolutionary unionism advocates anti-war propaganda and the replacement of permanent armies which are only the instruments of counter-revolution at the service of capitalism, by workers' militias which, during the revolution, will be controlled by the workers' unions; it demands, as well, the boycott and embargo of all raw materials and products necessary to war, with the exception of a country where the workers are in the midst of a social revolution, in which case it is necessary to help them defend the revolution. Finally, revolutionary unionism advocates the preventative and revolutionary general strike as a means of opposing war and militarism.

10 Revolutionary unionism supports direct action and supports and encourages all struggles which are not in contradiction to its own ends. The means of struggle are: occupations, strikes, boycotts, sabotage, etc. Direct action is best expressed through the general strike which must, from the point of view of revolutionary unionism, be the prelude to the social revolution.

11 While revolutionary unionism is opposed to all organised violence of the state, it realises that there will be extremely violent clashes during the decisive struggles between the capitalism of today and the free communism of tomorrow. Consequently, it recognises as valid that violence which can be used as a means of defence against the violent methods used by the ruling classes - both existing and aspirant - during the social revolution. As expropriations of the land and the means of production can only be carried out and brought to a successful conclusion by the direct intervention of the workers' revolutionary industrial unions, defence of the revolution must also be the task of those unions, not of a military or quasi-military body independent of them.

12 It is only through the economic and revolutionary organisations of the working class that it will be possible to bring about our liberation, and to generate the necessary creative energy for the reorganisation of society on the basis of libertarian communism.



# Anarchist-Communist Federation

## Aims and Principles

- ① The Anarchist-Communist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists. We aim for the abolition of all hierarchy, and work for the creation of a world-wide classless society: anarchist communism.
- ② Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class by the ruling class. But inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of race, gender, sexuality, health, ability and age, and in these ways one section of the working class oppresses another. This divides us, causing a lack of class unity in struggle that benefits the ruling class. Oppressed groups are strengthened by autonomous action which challenges social and economic power relationships. To achieve our goal we must relinquish power over each other on a personal as well as a political level.
- ③ We believe that fighting racism and sexism is as important as other aspects of the class struggle. Anarchist-communism cannot be achieved while sexism and racism still exist. In order to be effective in their struggle against their oppression both within society and within the working class, women and black people may at times need to organise independently. However, this should be as working class women and black people as cross-class movements hide real class differences and achieve little for them. Full emancipation cannot be achieved without the abolition of capitalism.
- ④ We are opposed to the ideology of national liberation movements which claims that there is some common interest between native bosses and the working class in face of foreign domination. We do support working class struggles against racism, genocide, ethnocide and political and economic colonialism. We oppose the creation of any new ruling class. We reject all forms of nationalism, as this only serves to redefine divisions in the international working class. The working class has no country and national boundaries must be eliminated. We seek to build an anarchist international to work with other libertarian revolutionaries throughout the world.
- ⑤ As well as exploiting and oppressing the majority of people, Capitalism threatens the world through war and the destruction of the environment.
- ⑥ It is not possible to abolish Capitalism without a revolution, which will arise out of class conflict. The ruling class must be completely overthrown to achieve anarchist communism. Because the ruling class will not relinquish power without the use of armed force, this revolution will be a time of violence as well as liberation.
- ⑦ Unions by their very nature cannot become vehicles for the revolutionary transformation of society. They have to be accepted by capitalism in order to function and so cannot play a part in its overthrow. Trades unions divide the working class (between employed and unemployed, trade and craft, skilled and unskilled, etc). Even syndicalist unions are constrained by the fundamental nature of unionism. The union has to be able to control its membership in order to make deals with management. Their aim, through negotiation, is to achieve a fairer form of exploitation of the workforce. The interests of leaders and representatives will always be different from ours. The boss class is our enemy, and while we must fight for better conditions from it, we have to realise that reforms we may achieve today may be taken away tomorrow. Our ultimate aim must be the complete abolition of wage slavery. Working within the unions can never achieve this. However, we do not argue for people to leave unions until they are made irrelevant by the revolutionary event. The union is a common point of departure for many workers. Rank and file initiatives may strengthen us in the battle for anarchist-communism. What's important is that we organise ourselves collectively, arguing for workers to control struggles themselves.
- ⑧ Genuine liberation can only come about through the revolutionary self-activity of the working class on a mass scale. An anarchist communist society means not only co-operation between equals, but active involvement in the shaping and creating of that society during and after the revolution. In times of upheaval and struggle, people will need to create their own revolutionary organisations controlled by everyone in them. These autonomous organisations will be outside the control of political parties, and within them we will learn many important lessons of self-activity.
- ⑨ As anarchists we organise in all areas of life to try to advance the revolutionary process. We believe a strong anarchist organisation is necessary to help us to this end. Unlike other so-called socialists or communists we do not want power or control for our organisation. We recognise that the revolution can only be carried out directly by the working class. However, the revolution must be preceded by organisations able to convince people of the anarchist communist alternative and method. We participate in struggle as anarchist communists, and organise on a federative basis. We reject sectarianism and work for a united revolutionary anarchist movement.



### Proposal for a Scottish news-sheet

This has been discussed at recent meetings of counter info and at the small Scottish @ meeting on 5.7.97 in Edinburgh (following the previous day's demo)

this proposal is written by mike, but hopefully reflects the discussions at the above meetings

### PROPOSAL

to restart a free news-sheet for distribution throughout Scotland.

(We could also utilise distro networks such as SchNEWS, Anarchist Distro Service, Haringey Soly group, counter info, to spread the news to activists beyond Scotland)

the news-sheet would report on struggles, primarily in Scotland but also Britain and world-wide, and put across revolutionary ideas

the organisational structure should enable it to be controlled by the movement in Scotland - in practice at present that would mean Glasgow and ACE plus any group that emerges in Dundee. We would seek input from other areas where we have contacts eg the North east, Wester Hailes in Edinburgh, and also seek to contact people in struggle

as a secondary aspect, the news-sheet could be put on the WWW

### SOME RELEVANT INFO FROM COUNTER INFO

CI is intending to change the emphasis in our content. Recognising that ci is currently unable to come out frequently enough to be primarily a NEWS-sheet, we are intending to come out twice a year, with a greater emphasis on explaining revolutionary ideas, as they relate to struggles.

We continue to receive vast quantities of info, mags etc from all round Britain and the world. We are happy to feed this into a new Scottish news-sheet.

### QUESTIONS TO BE RESOLVED include

finance

frequency of publication / PRINT RUN - 2,000 ? / FORMAT: 2 SIDES ? OF A4

editing, lay-out and printing - how is it to be done?

one option - edit and layout one page in Glasgow and one in Edinburgh, with co-ordination as necessary

distribution - at demos of course. But it should be got out into communities, workplaces, at the dole etc as well. This takes a fair bit of commitment and a fair no of people. could also be flyposted on bus stops etc?

the news-sheet should be openly revolutionary - but to what extent if any should we use the term anarchist?

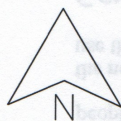
CONTENT / WHICH STRUGGLES TO EMPHASISE?



# LAND REGISTER OF SCOTLAND

Officer's ID/Date  
User: 30326  
TEST PRINT

TITLE NUMBER  
LAN115876



ORDNANCE SURVEY  
NATIONAL GRID REFERENCE

NS6956NE NS6956SE

Scale

1/1250

Survey Scale

1/1250

Produced from the ROS Digital Mapping System on 28/04/1997 Crown Copyright Reserved





~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Dear comrades,

It is now time to roll out the ideas for what we might not like to discuss at the forthcoming conference. As you know it was decided to hold the next conference in Dundee. Despite sadly depleted numbers we have managed to meet in the same pub at the same time and have come up with a suggested agenda.

Please comment or criticise as you wish, additions welcome. As accommodation will be the usual farming out process to comrades' flats/mansions/teepees etc. it would be appreciated if you could let us know how many nights you intend to stay and how many you require floor space for.

If there is enough demand a creche can be arranged. Please inform us as to how many young persons are accompanying you and their ages (the latter helps to plan activities).

CONFERENCE VENUE: The Wishart Centre, Princes Street, Dundee.

DATE: Saturday 1st May.

Morning: march with rally, meeting place to be arranged.

12.00-2.00pm lunch, liquid or otherwise (facilities in Wishart Centre)

2.00-2.45 pm. Minutes last conference. Reports from groups.

2.45pm-3.45pm. Workshops:  
Direct action co-ordination  
Peace movement including the East German Organisation.  
Technology

3.45pm.-4.00pm. Break for refreshments.

4.00pm.-5.00pm. Black Star Hole.

5.00pm. End of day one.

Party in the evening, venue to be announced.



**Maryhill Residents Meeting: Notes for Facilitators**  
**Shakespeare Street, 12 March 2011 12 noon – 5pm**

**Overall Facilitation**

- *Overall facilitation* – Two facilitators will introduce the day, keep time and make sure we keep to the schedule. They will facilitate the feedback and the large group discussion, writing up themes as each group reports them.

*Overall facilitators:* John Lawson and John McLintock

**Small group Facilitation**

- *Small groups/Facilitation* - one person to facilitate each table of six
- ***During Speakers:*** Facilitators should encourage participants to take time to think about and write down their impressions of what the speaker is trying to say, whether they agree with it or not, and what they might propose instead.
- ***After Speakers:*** Everyone to introduce themselves by name but also, if desired, any organisational affiliation and the kind of work they do (waged or otherwise). Facilitators should introduce themselves first before inviting others to do the same. Introductions should be relatively brief, but should cover the question: ***Why am I/you here?***
- The purpose of the discussion is to develop 'Themes' (questions, issues or topics) that the group share agreement or disagreement on; these 'themes' should be thought of in relation to the development of further collective action against the cuts.
- The questions *what we think is wrong? What is to be done? And, what can we do?* Might help the facilitator frame the discussion on the day.
- The important thing is that during the course of the discussions we move from a personal to a collective analysis of the texts, discussing our opinions in relation to others opinions, and trying to find agreement and differences of viewpoint.
- The role of the facilitator is to listen closely to what people have to say. Everyone should be encouraged to speak. If the facilitator notices that certain participants are dominating the conversation, the facilitator should invite others to share their thoughts and, if necessary, encourage those who have much to say to listen to everyone in the group.
- The facilitator should be extremely cautious about offering her or his opinions except in those moments when a contribution from her or him will help move the conversation closer to identifying a theme or themes. The facilitator should also be careful to represent the ideas and comments of group members in the words used by the group members and not try to interpret statements in her or his own words.
- The facilitator may need to encourage the group to approach divergences of ideas and responses not as arguments between personalities, but different positions produced by larger political conditions. For the purposes of the inquiry, divergences are not matters to be resolved in argument but themes to be investigated collectively.
- ***Finally, and very importantly: Ten or fifteen minutes before the end of the last workshop, the facilitator should encourage the table to compile a short list of themes derived from the workshop discussion - themes that seem to have the most importance for the table collectively.*** The other tables will do the same, and these themes will then contribute to the final group discussion with all tables involved.

WRITTEN NOTES - CLOSE LISTENING - THEMES + DIVERGENCES - SUMMARY



# PRAXIS

## - THE NEW POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISTS -

[Praxis is still in the process of forming, so the statements below, which cover some of our perspectives are interim in nature and may be subject to change]

### 1) Interim Mission Statement

We will coordinate our involvement in existing class struggles with the dual aim of improving people's lives and building truly democratic social movements and institutions of and for the working class.

We hope that these can become the basis of a new, classless, society.

We want a serious approach to combining theory and practise where we set targets and assess ourselves against those targets, and build new theory based on what we learn.

No bullshit - let's just see what we can actually do to help, and work towards more working class power.

Our strategy and tactics will be based on what works.

The community and workplace are both sites of struggle against the ruling class, and struggles in both must be fought.

In some workplaces a "red" union such as the IWW may be the best option, in others a democratic network of trade union members may be the better option.

These are tactical decisions, not unbending principles.

We will settle strategic and tactical disagreements by vote, and act in unity once the issue is settled.

We are very interested in involving anyone who agrees with these principles and is serious about the struggle.

### 2) Provisional Aims and Principles

The world's wealth is produced by us, the working class. We ought to enjoy the benefits.

We want to abolish the system of capitalism which places wealth and power in the hands of a few, and replace it with workers control and socialism.

We stand for a new society where there will be no bosses, politicians or bureaucrats. A society which will be run in a really democratic way by working people, through councils in the workplaces and community.

All the industries, all the means of production and distribution will be commonly owned, and placed under the management of those working in them. Production will be organised and planned by the federation of workers councils, not for profit but to meet peoples' needs.

We hold that socialism can only be created by the mass of ordinary people. Anything less is bound to lead to no more than replacing one set of bosses with another.

We are opposed to the state because it is not neutral, it can not be made to serve the interests of workers. The structures of the state are only necessary when a minority seeks to rule over the majority. We can create our own structures, which will be open and democratic.

We see ourselves as part of the tradition of libertarian socialism.

In short we fight for the immediate needs and interests of the working class under the existing set up, while seeking to encourage the necessary political understanding and activity to overthrow capitalism and its state, and lead to the birth of a better society.

### 3) Provisional Organisational Approach

We'd like to see

- Active local and regional Scottish groups;
- Acting together as a single organisation;
- A primary focus on involvement in struggles;
- Propaganda etc. being secondary to that but taken from it;
- Bringing together all class-struggle libertarians who'd be able to work together like this.

So, a new organisation linked to and acting closely with other groups but not a part of them.

["Organisational Approach" is continued at <http://praxisglasgow.wordpress.com/>]



#### **4) Interim Workplace/Economy Statement**

[see discussion documents for background]

In workplaces where there is trade union representation, members are expected and supporters are encouraged to join that union and become active members and shop stewards in those unions. Union activist members and supporters should co-ordinate activity and share ideas amongst each other, functioning as a radical shop stewards network.

Members are encouraged to join and support rank and file networks wherever they exist (insofar as such networks' programmes do not contradict the local action plans of a Praxis branch, Praxis position papers, or the aims and principles of Praxis) and develop such networks.

Members are expected and supporters are encouraged to join the IWW and push for a strategic industrial organising perspective within the IWW.

Members will be expected to fulfil obligations under the strategic organising plans drawn up by their branch.

#### **5) Interim Community/Housing Statement**

[see discussion documents for background]

Members are expected and supporters are encouraged to be actively involved in neighbourhood civil society by becoming active members of tenants associations, residents associations, community councils, local campaigning groups, and so on. Community activist members and supporters should co-ordinate activity and share ideas amongst each other, functioning as a radical community activist network.

Members will be expected to fulfil obligations under the strategic organising plans drawn up by their branch.

## **More Information / Contact Praxis:**

**Web:** <http://praxisglasgow.wordpress.com/>

**Mobile/Text:** 079 323 677 57

**Email:** [praxis.glasgow@gmail.com](mailto:praxis.glasgow@gmail.com)



## SCHEMA – for first one to three years of organisation

### Overarching plan / interim national objectives

- ~ Establish Praxis by September 2007
- ~ Establish functional branches by next year (2008)
- ~ Elect national officer bearers by September 2007
- ~ Develop a tendency within the IWW to promote strategic organising approaches
- ~ Develop detailed position papers on:-
  - Local media / media of a popular democratic movement
  - Economy
  - Direct Democracy
  - Popular Management
  - Technology
- ~ Relate to forthcoming conferences in England, in October, and in November and aim to develop a network of especificist/platformist comrades with a view to working towards an organisation
- ~ Develop a quarterly magazine
- ~ Map supporters across the country and establish a network of sympathisers
- General—
- ~ Develop our international relations, and support organising efforts in Ireland, Belarus, the USA and France (2007)
- ~ Spread paradigms for best practice throughout various movements, producing a book on organising in communities, for example
- ~ Develop national co-ordination across communities (2008/2009)

### Local Policy Framework

#### Edinburgh Interim Action Plan

1. Identify a body, for example EAR, which as a federal structure for community representative organisations which could be the focus of a future citizens power.
2. Unite this residents body with tenants and residents association organisers, particularly those who have no affinity with Edinburgh Tenants Federation.
3. Develop moral authority for the new residents body as the main community representative federation, and develop its power.



4. Identify how this residents body can push for meaningful gains from a dual power strategy.
5. Build the IWW as an highly focussed industrial organising outfit, and identify an interim strategy for building density in an industry. Get our people to get jobs in these industries, or have relations with those who do.
6. Where feasible push for the current EAR objectives (or those of a future residents body) of community land trusts as a possible vehicle for improving and taking over our (council) housing. Get residents bodies to push for the finances for this to be released from central government.
7. Establish a transport users union, to interface with debates about the future of Lothian buses and the new tram system and be prepared to fight, linking these efforts to residents bodies and to the unions.
8. Where possible push for funding for start-up grants for "social enterprises" (by which we mean worker controlled firms) through residents organisations and other bodies to interface with new tenant management co-ops and community land trusts.

#### **Glasgow Interim Action Plan**

##### **---Municipalist programme---**

1. Citizen Power - develop the Glasgow Residents Network, and leverage this to build stronger citizens/civil society groups in a number of fields.
2. Transport - develop an organisation through GRN to push for subsidised off-peak bus travel for benefit claimants.
3. Young people - through GRN push for more youth sports centres and youth clubs, with no charge for young people.
4. Pensioners - through GRN to fight for funding for pensioner clubs.
5. School meals - through GRN fight for free school meals, without means testing.
5. Decentralisation - through GRN push for powerful area committees for each 3-4 member ward, with delegates from residents bodies. Push for an extension of the power of LHO committees. Push for tenant management co-operatives and push for community land trusts to be developed as second stage transfers. Link these initiatives to the economic programme.
6. Local Media - assist the development of the Burgh Angel in the North West.
7. Develop Counterpower - assist the development of a community tendency in Maryhill to pursue a distinct municipalist strategy developing residents associations and taking over Community Councils and LHO committees and leveraging this to extend strategic specific power in this area, to be used as a model for future organising efforts.

##### **---Economic programme---**

1. Build the IWW locally industrially, with an interim focus on developing power at Glasgow University which can then be leveraged, the IWW seen as a "real union", for future organising efforts, such as in postal service or in call centres.



2. Education and training - Apprenticeships, starting on a part-time basis as early as age 14, alongside school system, especially of plumbers, joiners, building trades. Training undertaken by City Council workplaces in partnership with Colleges.

3. Jobs and growth - Finance new start up firms that are worker owned or otherwise tied to the community. Assist in founding a new bank to raise and direct funds to these firms. Assist in providing centralised services for these firms.

4. Push for greater co-ordination across the public sector, linking this to other initiatives in the economic programme (eg IWW) and the municipalist programme (eg residents association backing for defence of postal services).

## Interim Position Statements

~ Organisational Approach

[See fleshed out position statement.]

~ Branding: An Essential Technique for 21st Century Socialists Marketing

[See fleshed out position statement.]

~ Workplace/Economy

[see discussion documents for background]

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Members are expected and supporters are encouraged to join the IWW and push for a strategic industrial organising perspective within the IWW.

Members will be expected to fulfil obligations under the strategic organising plans drawn up by their branch.

~ Community/Housing

[see discussion documents for background]

Members are expected and supporters are encouraged to be actively involved in neighbourhood civil society by becoming active members of tenants associations, residents associations, community councils, local campaigning groups, and so on. Community activist members and supporters should co-ordinate activity and share ideas amongst each other, functioning as a radical community activist network.

Members will be expected to fulfil obligations under the strategic organising plans drawn up by their branch.



(Manchester DAM also DAM National)

Norwich Students-Freewheel Bookshop 56 St Benedicts St Norwich Norfolk

Norwich Town "

Oxford Libertarian Group (Town) c/o EDA Books 34 Cowley Rd Oxford

Oxford Anarchist Fed. (Student) "

Paisley See Clydeside

Reading DAM c/o Manchester DAM

Rising Free

Rochdale DAM c/o Manchester DAM

Saffron Walden DAM c/o Martyn Everett 114 Gibson Gdns Saffron Walden Essex

Sunderland DAM c/o Manchester DAM

Sutton in Ashfield "

Torbay Thistledown Milton St Brixham Devon

Todmorden DAM c/o Manchester DAM

Wellington DAM "

(Lancs)

XTRA BCM IT London WCLN 3XX (paper 30p)

Not along list because not many people replied.

If you want to be included in the next list please send an SAE confirming  
or amending your address. EVEN IF YOU ARE ON THIS LIST WE WANT YOU TO CONFIRM  
OTHERWISE YOU WON'T BE ON THE NEXT ONE. BY THE END OF NOVEMBER OR ELSE

P.S. if you are in contact with anyone not on this list please  
either let them or us know.

THANKS

LOVE CHRIS for Hull libertartarian Collective